



MISS JACKSON SINGS—Mahalia Jackson, the Gospel singer, performs on podium of Lincoln Memorial. Seated on steps in foreground are Senators Harl, (D., Mich.), Morse (D., Ore.) and Proxmire (D., Wis.).

The Sun

8/29

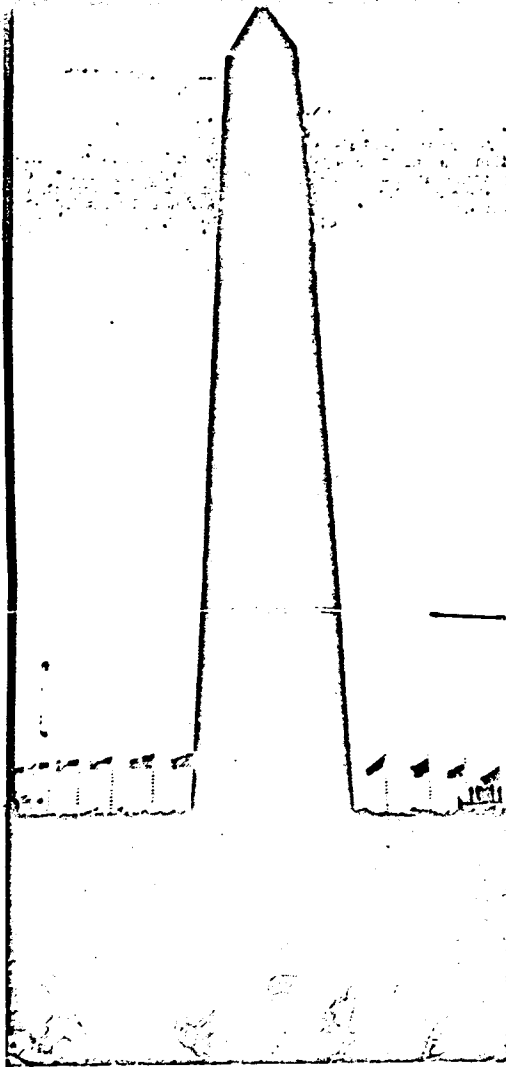
BALTIMORE, THURSDAY, AUG. 29, 1963

Rally in the Capital

The atmosphere of yesterday's mass civil rights rally in Washington was one of orderliness, but it was an orderliness underlain with fervor and with determination. If anyone had previously doubted that the nation has come to the time when it has to live up to its moral, philosophical and political professions, the doubt can linger no more. Our Negro citizens will have their rights and their privileges as citizens, and will no longer wait through generation after generation. They will not wait through one more generation; and the country cannot ask them to wait.

The keynote of the demonstration was the word "Now," printed over and over on placards and sounded over and over from the platform in front of the Lincoln Memorial. In truth not all the demands repeated yesterday can be satisfied tomorrow, or this year. Some of them must wait, not because "gradualism" is any longer a respectable or a possible concept—it is not: events have carried us past that—but because of the nature of people and of political institutions. The great fact is that action has been and is being taken toward meeting the fundamental demands, and that it will be steadily, swiftly accelerated.

As one speaker said in effect yesterday, it has fallen to the Negro to bring this country face to face with the full responsibilities of nationhood, and face to face with its most serious failure to meet those responsibilities. In the time to come when all citizens are just citizens, to be judged and treated only according to individual character and ability, that may be the historic meaning of the days of decision we are passing through now.



Herald Tribune photo by IRA ROSENBERG

THE PEOPLE—The march is on, as the first demonstrators started the walk from Washington Monument.

U.S. Looks Ahead

A Different Capital

By Robert J. Donovan
Chief Washington
Correspondent

WASHINGTON.

This capital was a changed city during the Negro March on Washington yesterday, and it may never be quite the same again.

The inauguration of President Kennedy in 1960 drew larger crowds. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's funeral cortege in 1945 produced greater melodrama. The return of the deposed Gen. Douglas MacArthur from Japan in 1951 caused more excitement.

Still none of the public spectacles for which Washington is famous ever reached any deeper into the thoughts and the feelings of the people here than did the demonstrations yesterday.

The almost empty downtown stores, the disappearance of normal traffic, the

early closing of government offices, the shutdown of bars were mere surface phenomena of a strange semi-holiday.

The reality below the surface was that the spirit, the behavior, the creditable appearance and long pent-up complaint of the masses of marchers compelled Washington, and no doubt compelled millions of television viewers everywhere, to take a new look at the Negro.

The extraordinary thing about the march, in contrast to inaugural parades, is that Washingtonians did not turn out as spectators, or at least not many of them did. Black or white, most of those who went to the scene of the demonstration went as participants.

Unlike the usual public spectacles, which flow up and down Pennsylvania Ave. before

More on CAPITAL—P 10

A Different Capital; U.S. Looks Ahead

(Continued from page one)

tween the Capitol and the White House, yesterday's march and demonstration were largely confined to the lawns and streets around the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial, which are out of sight of downtown Washington.

Yet Washington felt the presence of these marchers as much as if they had been moving through the main business thoroughfares. Washington not only felt their presence, but it had a keener feeling of why they were here.

To Washingtonians, the striking thing about the march was not that it was well performed, but that it was superbly well performed. In recent weeks at least, not many people here seriously feared that there would be dangerous racial violence during the march. It was obvious from the preparations that the police, supported by National Guardsmen, would nip any disorders at the outset, and the police work did live up to the highest expectations. The crowds were wisely handled.

It was the simplicity, the good nature, the decent behavior and, very obviously, the pride of the Negro marchers that impressed Washington. All these intangibles put together may not affect a single vote in the Alabama delegation when the civil rights bill comes up. They will affect the climate of thought about Negroes, however, and from now on consideration of the Negro problem in Washington will take place in an atmosphere inevitably changed from what it was before this event.

The daily life of the city, of course, was altered in many ways by the huge influx of people.

"Business is terrifically off downtown," William Press, executive vice-president of the Metropolitan Washington Board of Trade, said yesterday. Late in the day he estimated that department store sales were off from 50 to 60 per cent.

The manager of one large

store reported: "We have more employees than customers." Nevertheless, all the large department stores remained open throughout the day.

A number of smaller stores closed, however, and things like delivery service throughout the city were utterly disrupted. Many construction jobs came to a halt because of absenteeism of Negro workers.

Tens of thousands of government workers stayed home. One estimate was that only 85,000 of 162,000 Federal and District of Columbia government employees showed up for work. Some government offices closed for the day at 3:30 p. m.

The Heiss Press Service, which delivers government press handouts to the various correspondents' offices, closed shop because for once Washington wasn't having very much to say about anything other than civil rights.

Some Southern members of Congress graciously gave their Negro employees the day off to join the march.

Many Washingtonians feared an awesome traffic jam yesterday morning. In reality, traffic was as light as on a Sunday morning. Space in parking facilities downtown was readily available. Buses seemed to be carrying less than half their normal load.

Yesterday morning, barely a fifth of the usual number of sightseers turned up to tour the White House, and the gate was closed earlier than planned. The guards attributed the small line to the fact that marchers had been cautioned by their leaders to stay away from the White House. Only an official delegation called on President Kennedy.

There is no doubt that Washington was happy last night that the march is over, but one heard few complaints about the way things went. There was plenty of grouching about the closing of the bars, of course. No one could buy a drink anywhere except in the restaurant and cafeteria of House of Representatives, which put on their own demonstrations of freedom.

NY Herald Tribune 8:27

Marching Into History

A Triumph With a Clear Meaning



THE MOMENT—Reflections of a Georgia youth in prayer, caught by AP photographer Eddie Adams.

TO ASSEMBLE AND PETITION their government, men, women and children came thousands of miles to Washington yesterday and imprinted on its soil a high water mark in the battle for civil rights. To capture the mood, the color, the sights, sounds and meaning of the event, the Herald Tribune's team of writers and photographers went with them and stayed with them so that on this page, in the pictures and stories on pages 8, 9, 10 and 11 and in the comments of our columnists, the story is told with every essential detail.

By Robert S. Bird
National Correspondent

WASHINGTON. The Negro march on Washington yesterday turned out to be a profoundly moving demonstration—so big, so orderly, so sweet-singing and good-natured, so boldly confident and at the same time relaxed, so completely right from start to finish, that America was done proud beyond measure.

President Kennedy broke the feelings of everybody who witnessed it when he said last evening, "The cause of 20 million Negroes has been advanced." By the wonderfully handled event, the Negroes have shown the world that the whole world was a witness to it, and to the thing it represented.

Thus the right guaranteed under the Constitution for the people to assemble peaceably and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

THE GREATEST

In this historic gathering, which police said was probably the greatest ever held in Washington from the standpoint of the number participating, more than 250,000 persons provided an awesome example of this Constitutional, democratic American right.

They came from every part of the country, and about 30 per cent—as estimated by this reporter walking along the line of march—were white supporters of the Negro-organized demonstration.

There was no disorder whatever. By the time the meeting reached its peak before the Lincoln Memorial, even the thought of disorder had altogether vanished from the minds of the authorities.

THE SPIRIT

Rather, there was displayed a total sense of innate order and self-discipline. At the same time, there flowed from the marching, singing, chanting, shouting, a triumphant spirit—triumphant in the hope that Negro equality with white citizenship shall surely prevail soon in every part of this land.

That's what the demonstration was all about—a petition mainly for civil rights and jobs, but including also the whole spectrum of rights up to the ultimate ideal of equality.

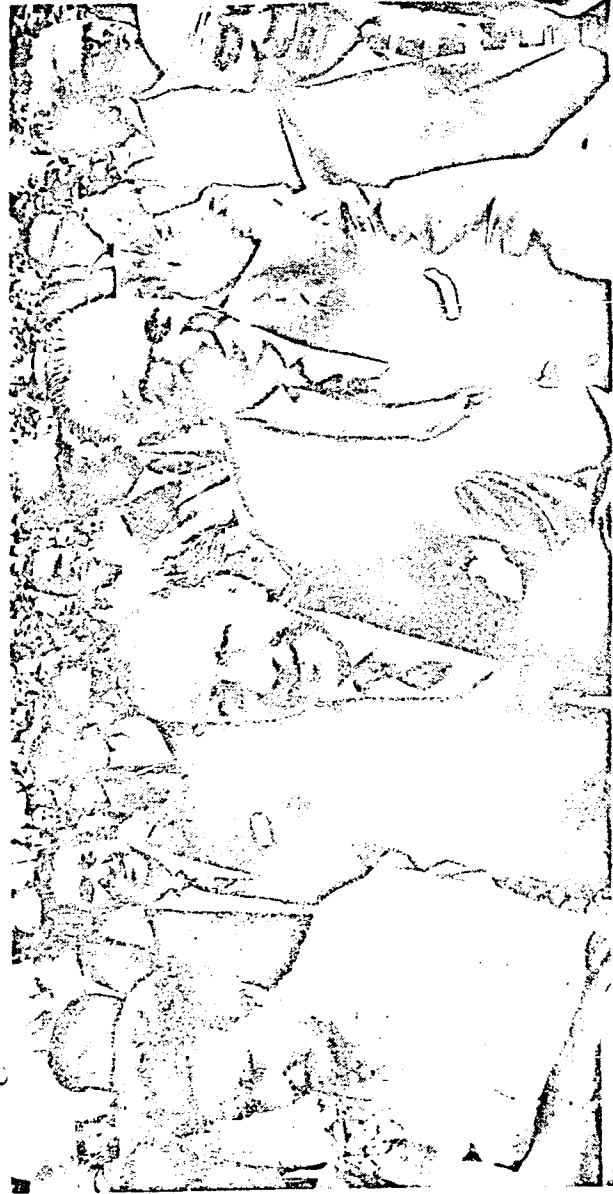
The demonstrators came to Washington all during the night and all morning in special trains and chartered planes and in thousands of buses and private cars. A few came on roller skates and by walking.

It was an astonishingly dressed-up crowd, almost as well turned out as a Sunday church service congregation.

Thursday, August 29, 1963

New York Herald Tribune

Right in the Front Rank at the Washington Rally



That's a "white lady" in trying to his a meeting, Miss Kelly, the Mayor's
to the, searching for 12 more, was said by Mr. Wagner to be a "really
great" when she asked the State Employment Service to refer a white
meeting as a temporary place out in her department.

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The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1953

PAGE A16

Living Petition

Freedom—the sound and spirit of the word alike—reverberated yesterday across the grounds of the Washington Monument. At the end of the Mall, inside the great Memorial erected to his memory, the gaunt, grave, silent figure of the Great Emancipator sat and listened, remembering, perhaps, the words of other marchers for freedom long, long ago: "We are coming, Father Abraham, three hundred thousand strong." Surely Abraham Lincoln yesterday heard the voices singing "Glory, Glory, Hallelujah," demanding fulfillment at last of the promise for which he lived and died, and shouting with simple faith in themselves and in their fellow Americans: "We shall overcome . . . We shall overcome."

They came from every portion of America. California had a throng there under a proudly held banner of the state. There was a delegation from West Memphis, Ark. The NAACP of Evansville, Ind., turned out in strength. So did the NAACP of Shreveport, La., and of Erie, Pa., and of Pittsfield, Mass., and of an endless catalogue of the towns and cities of the land.

Every kind and class of American was there. The Vermont Stone Cutters Association formed a goodly group. The Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers of North America, the United Automobile Workers, the civil libertarians of every hue, the Protestants, Catholics and Jews, white men and black men, black women and white women, children and their parents and their grandparents, the humble and the great—all were present. America sent to that great meeting in her Capital the representatives of every one of her manifold aspects and estates.

It was part picnic, part prayer meeting, part political rally, combining the best and most moving features of each. It was a happy crowd, much more gay than grim, full of warmth and good feeling and friendliness, instinct with faith and high hope, united in a sense of brotherhood and common humanity. It was a most orderly march, not with the precision of a military parade but with the order that grows out of a clear sense of common purpose, a fixed and certain destination.

No one could view that vast sea of faces turned upward toward the Lincoln statue without an awareness of commitment and dedication. No one could hear the scourging words spoken yesterday by A. Philip Randolph and Martin Luther King and others without a sense of guilt and grief and shame. No one could hear the tones of Marian Anderson's deep and beautiful voice singing, "He's Got the Whole World in His Hands," without profound emotion and involvement.

If the words spoken yesterday were heard by Abraham Lincoln at one end of the Mall, let us hope that they were heard by the Congress of the United States at the other end. For this was something much more than a mere outlet for emotion. Dr. King was altogether right in saying that "Those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the Nation returns to business as usual. There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation until the bright day of justice emerges."

There is a magnificent opportunity at hand to cut out once and for all a cancer in America demeaning and degrading to all Americans. Not Negroes alone, not white libertarians alone but Americans in general marched yesterday—and must march in unity and in brotherhood tomorrow and tomorrow.

Millions ready to march today In Solemn, Orderly Plea for Equality

Largest Demonstration On Civil Rights Urges Passage of Legislation

By Robert F. Baker
AP Wire

More than 200,000 persons jammed the Mall yesterday in the biggest civil rights demonstration in the Nation's history.

This was the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," a one-day rally demanding a breakthrough in the fight for Negroes.

The demonstrators came by special buses and trains to protest order. They sang and walked at the Lincoln Memorial to hear Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. call on Congress to pass a civil rights bill.

King, in a powerful display of leadership, urged the demonstrators to keep their hands and feet off the law and to keep their mouths shut.

The high tide of the march was reached when the President of the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson, addressed the crowd.

The mood, the efforts and the power of the march—in stories and pictures on Pages A12 through A27.

See MARSH, A12, A13, A14, A15 and A16.



The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom moves along the Mall in Washington, D.C., today. The ceremony is at the Lincoln Memorial.

President's Statement

After the March, when it was over, President Kennedy issued a statement in which he said that such demonstrations for equality are not only difficult to understand, but also necessary.

"What is different today," he said, "is that we are now faced with a choice between a more just and a more unjust society. The choice is ours to make."

The cause of 20 million Negroes has been advanced by the President's statement, he said.

He said that the President's statement is a step toward the great American dream of a more just and a more free society.

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Equality

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By Robert E. Baker
Staff Writer

More than 200,000 persons jammed the Mall here yesterday in the biggest civil rights demonstration in the Nation's history.

This was the "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom," a one-day rally demanding a breakthrough in civil rights for Negroes.

The demonstrators came by special buses and trains in perfect order. They sang and gathered at the Lincoln Memorial to hear their leaders call on Congress to pass civil rights legislation.

In a mammoth display of fervor, they ended the day by pledging to return to their homes and keep up the battle for full equality by more demonstrations, if necessary.

A. Philip Randolph, director of the March and head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, drew great applause in his remarks at the Memorial when he said this was only the beginning of demonstrations here to gain equality for all.

The ten leaders, representing top Negro civil rights organizations, organized labor and religious denominations, visited Capitol Hill in the morning.

Senators and House members, including Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey, D-Minn., and Sen. Walter D. Dill, D-Ind., were on hand to greet the demonstrators.

After the demonstration, the Kennedy administration called on President Kennedy to sign the Civil Rights Act, which would give Negroes the same rights as whites.

President's Statement

After the White House meeting, President Kennedy issued a statement in which he said that such demonstrations are not only necessary but also difficult to understand.

"What is different today is the intensified and widespread public awareness of the need to move forward in achieving these objectives—objectives which are older than the Nation itself," the statement said.

The estimate of the size of the crowd was made by Police Sgt. Robert Murray. But he said that the number of participants which numbered several thousands.


A band count of 103,900.

200,000 Jam Mall in Orderly, Solemn Rally for Civil Rights

George Lincoln Rockwell, head of the American Nazi Party and 74 followers showed up at the Washington Memorial demonstration on television. By 10:30 a. m., the Washington Monument grounds the ten March leaders. Some of the demonstrators were seen for photographs before the march.

Buses and trains were still coming in at the station. The marchers were still coming in at the station. The marchers were still coming in at the station.

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3 Days Only! Pre-Labor Day

CARPET SALE!

The participants heard songs from the Freedom Singers, including "I Want My Freedom Now" and other spirituals. The marchers were still coming in at the station. The marchers were still coming in at the station.

Excerpts From Remarks Made at Civil Rights Program

Excerpts from the remarks made yesterday during the civil rights program at the Lincoln Memorial follow:

Invocation by the Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington.—Send in our midst the Holy Spirit to open the eyes of all to the great truth that all men are equal in Your sight...

"Give strength and wisdom to our President and Vice President. Enlighten and guide the Congress..."

"We ask a special blessing for those men and women who have been leaders in the struggle for justice and harmony among races. As Moses of old, they have gone before their people to a land of promise. Let that promise quickly become a reality, so that the ideals of freedom... will prevail in our land."

A. Philip Randolph, Director of the March.—"Let the Nation and world know the meaning of our numbers... We are the advance guard of a massive moral revolution for jobs and freedom."

"Our white allies know they cannot be free while we are not, and we know we have no future in a society in which six million black and white people are unemployed and more live in poverty."

"Real freedom will require...

many changes... We must reject the notion that Mrs. Murphy's property rights include the right to humiliate me because of the color of my skin. The sanctity of private property takes second place to the sanctity of the human personality.

"It falls to the Negro to reassert this priority of values because our ancestors were transformed from human personalities into private property."

"It falls to us also to demand new forms of social planning to create full employment... We are the worst victims of unemployment... so we have taken our struggle into the streets, as the labor movement did. Until we went into the streets, the Federal Government was indifferent to our demands."

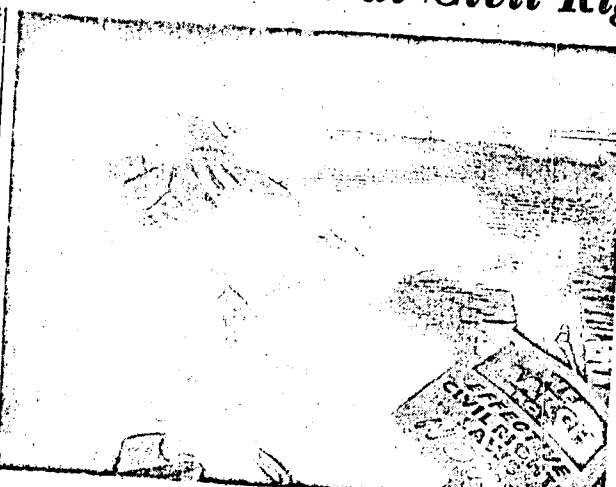
"It was not until the streets and jails of Birmingham were filled that Congress began to think about civil rights legislation. Not until thousands demonstrated in the South were lunch counters integrated."

"Look for the enemies of Medicare, of higher minimum wages, of social security, of Federal aid to education—and there you will find the enemy of the Negro: the coalition of Dixiecrats and reactionary Republicans that seek to dominate Congress..."

"We shall return again and again to Washington in ever-growing numbers until total freedom is ours. We shall settle for nothing less..."

The Rev. Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, vice chairman of the Commission on Religion and Race of the National Council of Churches—"... is partly because the churches of America have failed to put their own house in order that 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation... the United States of America still faces a racial crisis."

"We come in faith that the God who made us and gave His son for us and for our salvation will override the fears and hatred that so far have prevented the establishment of full racial justice..."



Kathleen Johnson of Newark, N. J., gets help from other members of the March after falling into the Reflecting Pool while making a photo of the area.

"We come in that love revealed in Jesus Christ, which reconciles into true community all men of every color, race and nation who respond in faith and obedience to Him."

John Lewis, chairman, Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee—"... the Administration's civil rights bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses... the citizens in Danville, Va., who must live in constant fear in a police state..."

"The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland... the party of Goldwater... is the political party that would make it unnecessary to march on Washington..."

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, AFL-CIO—"If we fail, the vacuum created by our failure..."

will be filled with the Apostles of Hatred who will search for answers in the dark of night, and reason will yield to riot, and the spirit of brotherhood will yield to bitterness and bloodshed and the fabric of our free society will be torn asunder."

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, in a message from the Donaldsonville, La., jail where he and 231 other "freedom fighters" are being held—"... in an age of thermonuclear bombs, violence is outmoded as a solution to the problems of men. It is a truth that needs to be shouted loudly, and no one else anywhere in the world is saying it as well as we American Negroes through their non-violent direct action demonstrations."

"The tear gas and the electric cattle prods... the fire hoses and dogs... are giving to the world a tired and ugly message of terror and brutality and hate... of pitiful hopelessness from little and that fears for its life. It is not they to whom the world is listening today. It is to America's Negroes..."

"Act with valor and with dignity, and without fear. Some of us may die, like William L. Moore and Medgar Evers, but our war is for life, not death..."

"We will not slow down. We will not stop our militant, peaceful demonstrations. We will not come off the streets until we can work at any job befitting our skills any place in the land... until our kids have enough to eat and their minds can study and range wide without being cramped in Jim Crow schools."

"Until we can live wherever we choose and can eat and play with no closed doors blocking our way... We will not stop till the dogs stop biting us in the South and the rats stop biting us in the North..."

Rabbi Uri Miller, president, Synagogue Council of America, in a prayer—"Bless us, O God, in a prayer that when we de-prive our fellow man of bread and dignity we negate the Tselem Elohim—the image of God in man—and delay the fulfillment of Thy Kingdom."

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director, National Urban League—"Our presence here... says, and I hope, a white preacher or a white (civil rights groups) are all..."

united as never before on the goal of securing first-class citizenship for all Americans now.

"That we meet here at all, however, is to the shame of some who have always blocked the progress of the brown American and to the shame of those who would make deals, water down civil rights legislation, or take cowardly refuge in technical details around elementary human rights, and who would even now delay, until after Christmas, the consideration of these bills before Congress."

"... however impressed or incensed our congressional representatives are by this demonstration, they will not act because of it alone. We must support the strong, give courage to the timid, remind the indifferent and warn the opposed. Civil rights, which are God-given and Constitutionally guaranteed, are not negotiable in 1963."

Mathew Ahman, executive director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice—"Where is a man—white or Negro—whose heart has not been touched by the revelation in past months of racial scores among the people of our country?"

"Where is a man so callous that in some deep way his conscience has not yet been moved to see the evil effects of racial discrimination and segregation upon both the Negro and the white man?"

"Who can call himself a man, say he is created by God, and at the same time take part in a system of segregation which destroys the life and very heart of the Negro citizen... which frightens the white man into denying what he knows to be right, into denying the law of his God?"

Ray Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP—"We came to petition our lawmakers to be a brave as our silt-ins and marchers, to be as unafraid as James Meredith, as the Little Rock, a North Carolina, and as dedicated as the Archbishop of St. Louis."

that the United States Government, which can regulate contents of a pill, appears powerless to prevent physical abuse of citizens in its own borders.

"We expect the passage of an effective bill... If who support the bill will as hard and as skillfully as the Southern opposition fights against it, victory be ours."

Rabbi Joachim Prinz, I dent, the American Jewish Congress—"The most undignified and shameful problem is silence... A lica must not become a silent onlooker. It speak up and act from president on down, not the sake of the image, dream, the idea, the action, but for the sake of A lica itself. [The Pledge of allegiance] must become an shakable reality in a mo reunited and renewed A lica."

The Rev. Dr. Martin L. King, president, Southern Christian Leadership Conference—"Those who hope the Negro needed to blow steam and will now be bent, will have a rude awakening if the Nation returns business as usual. There be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro granted his citizenship right."

"In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongdoing. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred..."

"The marvelous new tancy which has engulfed Negro community must lead us to a distrust of white people for many of white brothers... have tried to realize their destiny with our own destiny. We cannot walk alone."

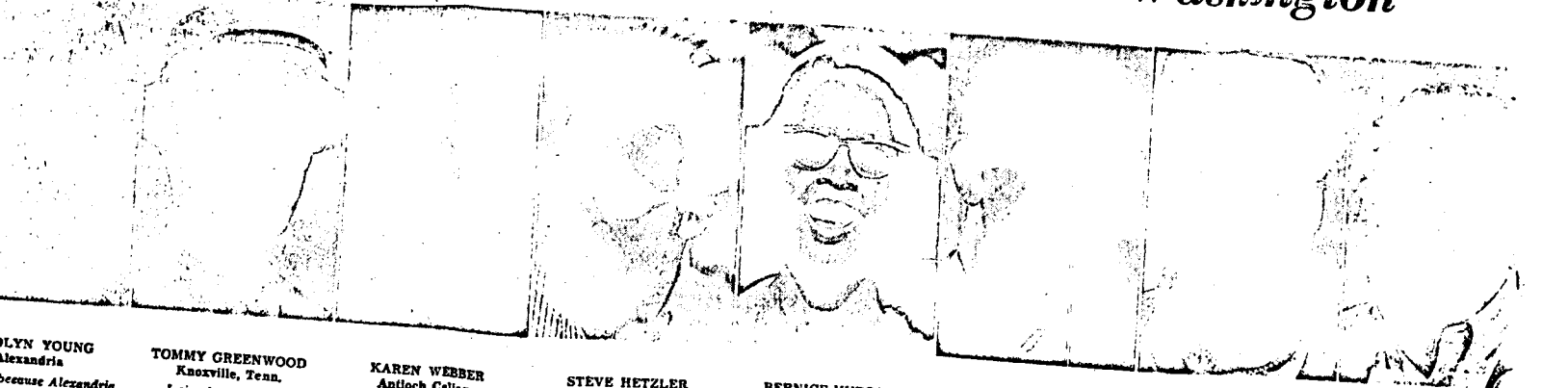
Benjamin E. Mays, president of Morehouse College, the benediction: "God of our weary yet pour out Your benediction on the United States of America. Pour it out President Kennedy and members of his cabinet on who shoulders the destiny of mankind may rest..."

Crowd Hits 200,000 After a Slow Beginning

9:30 a. m. yesterday the demonstration became the biggest ever held for civil rights. Police pulled some figures out of the air: Their helicopters counted 1314 chartered buses parked in reserved zones. Each carried if full, 38 to 50 passengers. And they had some other guides to their count. One was the Union Station tally of 17,781 passengers who arrived on 20 special trains. A reported 4300 additional passengers came on regular trains. Thousands arrived by car. Partly because many are residents stayed home car and bus traffic was expedited.

Police Chief Robert V. said the crowd had at least 200,000. The morning there was that the demonstration flop, that the crowd not reach even the sum total of 100,000 that n predicted.

Freedom Marchers Tell Why They Came to Washington



OLYN YOUNG Alexandria because Alexandria as segregation.

TOMMY GREENWOOD Knoxville, Tenn. I simply came here because I'm for freedom.

KAREN WEBBER Antioch College I wanted to see this happen and take part in it.

STEVE HETZLER Antioch College I was looking for a vocal means of participation.

BERNICE HUDSON Detroit I want to be free and see all Negroes free.

FR. LEO MICELI S.J. Woodstock, Md. I'm here to show approval of what they're doing.

BELLE McMURRAY Detroit I'm marching for the benefit of the young people.

Staff Photos by Wally McNamee ISAAC REYNOLDS New Orleans I'm here because I'm a field secretary of CORE.

Washington Post 8/29

Rally Impact on Hill is Doubtful

By Robert C. Albright
Staff Reporter

Leaders of the March on Washington yesterday pressed their case for a strengthened civil rights bill and related legislation in a quietly impressive two-hour round of conferences with top House and Senate leaders.

But, on the record anyway, the limited commitments they brought back from the Capitol were substantially those they

already had, and there was no indication they made any new converts.

Congressional leaders praised the high tone of the conferences and the conduct of the March.

But many were chary about predicting any net gain for the civil rights legislation from the March. The majority took a wait-and-see attitude.

Speaker John W. McCormack (D-Mass.) told reporters however that if the March was "conducted in such a way as to arouse respect and admiration it will help the bill."

In comment off the floor, ideologically opposed Sena-

tors voiced different viewpoints.

Sen. Hugh Scott (R-Pa.) for example told a television audience: "This may change the timing of the civil rights bill—speed it up." But he termed it "impossible to say" whether it will change any votes.

In contrast, Sen. John Stennis (D-Miss.) declared flatly: "This is going to help defeat the bill." Stennis predicted the March will "backfire" because, he said, it is voicing "demands" in behalf of a particular group.

McCormack, whose office was the last stop on the civil rights conference circuit, gave the March leaders the biggest lift of the morning by holding out a lean hope that the House civil rights bill could possibly be strengthened.

A. Philip Randolph, president of the American Labor Council, quoted the Speaker

as assuring the civil rights conferees that "if a fair employment practices bill and 'part three' are put into the package of proposals presented by President Kennedy to Congress, that these two measures would get through the House."

The "part three" referred to goes all the way back to the 1957 Civil Rights Act, when the Senate refused to grant the Attorney General broad injunctive power in the civil rights area.

McCormack confirmed to newsmen he told the delegation that "if" the Judiciary Committee added the two provisions to the bill the House in his opinion would pass both.

The key word in McCormack's statement appeared to be "if."

The House Judiciary Civil Rights subcommittee has been working on the draft of a bill and the addition of the two proposals is said to be highly doubtful.

Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.), chairman of the House Judiciary Committee in charge of the bill, said he agreed with McCormack's analysis but said: "I can't say what the outcome will be."

Regardless of the impact of the March, the onset of the Labor Day recess had already slowed down work on the bill.

Following yesterday's subcommittee session Celler announced he will be forced to hold up further meetings until Sept. 9, due to absence of members.

He termed this a setback to his hopes of reporting a civil rights bill out of his committee in September.

The ten March-on-Washington leaders, accompanied by three advisers, began their round of Capitol Hill calls at 8:50 a. m., ten minutes early, at the suite of Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield (D-Mont.).

Here they spent 30 minutes of a tight schedule present-

ing their case. Then they moved on, via two subway cars, to the Capitol proper. Here both Senate Minority Leader Charles A. Halleck (D-Ind.) awaited them in Dirksen's suite.

After a 35-minute exchange with Dirksen and Halleck, they walked to the Speaker's office across the Capitol. There they spent 50 minutes in what they later described

as "constructive discussion" with McCormack and House Majority Leader Carl Albert (D-Okla.).

At each of the stops, Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, introduced the leaders of the March. Wilkins and Randolph then presented their case for enacting an even stronger civil rights package than Mr. Kennedy has recommended.

They had published in advance ten so-called demands, leading off with comprehensive civil rights legislation, but Mansfield told newsmen they made no "demands" upon him.

"The atmosphere of the meeting was cordial and very courteous," said the Senate leader. "They explained their position and I gave my reaction."

Mansfield said the words "cloture (debate limitation)," "filibuster" or the "March" itself were never mentioned.

Wilkins later quoted Mansfield as saying he preferred not to "meddle" in what the House does in regard to adding a fair employment provision, but that he will support whatever bill comes over from the House.

Asked if the Washington demonstration would help or hurt the bill, Mansfield said we will just have to wait and see.

Later, at a news conference,

Dirksen was asked the same question. He said he doubted the March would effect the bill either way: "I go on the theory that members of Con-

gress have an independent responsibility."

Dirksen said he told the delegation, what he repeatedly has told newsmen, that he will support seven of the eight titles in the President's civil rights package. He repeated that he cannot support the public accommodations title because he believes it unconstitutional.

Dirksen along with the others lauded the courteous conduct of the civil rights leaders.

"There was no pressure," he said. "It was rather that they were expressing the hope that we could see the picture as they see it, and put our shoulder to the wheel."

The civil rights leaders got no specific commitment from Halleck, neither did they get a direct turn-down. Wilkins quoted the House GOP leader as saying he still had some conferring to do but that "the Republican attitude always has been friendly to civil rights."

Members of the delegation were enthusiastic about their talk with McCormack. Joseph L. Rauh Jr., vice chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, said McCormack "couldn't have been better. He gave us the lift that set this demonstration off right."

Tributes to the orderly conduct of the march and the demonstration at the Lincoln Memorial itself spread to the floor of the Senate.

Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) told the Senate the March "was good for Washington, D. C., good for the Nation and good for America throughout the world."

ACTION 'NOW' . . . By Chalmers M. Roberts

Next Move Up to Congress

They came. They marched. They sang. They listened. They cheered. But did they convince the doubters?

That is the crucial question. For a central fact of yesterday's massive throng before the brooding statue of Abraham Lincoln was the nature of its patience.

It was an overwhelmingly orderly, good humored, well dressed crowd. The Negroes who marched were not Americans trying to separate themselves from the mainstream of our society. These were Americans, their foot in the door, calling for the door to open fully in this centennial year of Emancipation so they, too, can enter the affluent society.

Now.

The Word for the day was indeed "now." Over and over it was cried out and cheered.

It ill behoves the Congress not to hear it, or to misunderstand.

Yesterday's crowd was the greatest manifestation yet of the American revolution in this summer of discontent. But so far—including yesterday—it is truly what A. Philip Randolph called it the other day, "a bourgeois revolution."

This was not a tattered



Roberts

rabble; these were people in their best clothes. These were people with a grievance but they were petitioning the Congress in the truest American tradition.

Still, the word was "now." As they see it, only action by the Congress, strong and forthright action, can move the American Negro through that door into the promised land, the land promised 100 years ago.

The angry words of an angry young man, John Lewis of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, were toned down by his fellow March leaders. Gone from his prepared speech was his charge of "betrayal" by both the great political parties; gone was his "too little, too late" description of the President's civil rights program, gone was his threat to march through the South "the way Sherman did."

The biggest cheers were for the Rev. Martin Luther King who took the other tack. "We refuse to believe," he said, "that the bank of justice is bankrupt." We must "not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred" for the white majority in these United States.

But the word, Dr. King's word, was "now." So far, thus far, this new Revolution has been conducted essentially within the American tradition of protest. So far, thus far, it has been a "bourgeois revolution," a seeking to redress ancient wrongs within the confines of the American Constitutional way.

But will it always be so?

If yesterday's outpouring said anything it said this: the Congress, overwhelmingly representative of the Nation's white majority, must respond—and it must respond "now."

How the Congress does respond will determine the place in American history of Aug. 28, 1963. If the Congress responds in good measure, it will have been a day of triumph. If the Congress shirks its duty, then, in Dr. King's words, "the whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our Nation . . ."

So far, responsible leadership has kept this Revolution within the American tradition. But angry young men, like the one who did not speak all he had written, are waiting to take charge if reason fails, if the Congress fails to see that the word, indeed, is "now."

No Tension, Only a Quiet Sense of Purpose

A Mounting Tide... Toward

By Marya Mannes

Critic, essayist and author of several books, Miss Mannes is a well-known commentator on the American scene.

At ten o'clock the city was so empty that it looked as if a plague had struck it, or—the streets stretching silently out in the sun, the cops and guardsmen at every corner waiting, as in "High Noon"—as if ambush was prepared for an enemy. Shops were closed and the people who normally inhabit Washington presumably fled. Echoes from friends further north assailed the ears: "Wouldn't be there for a million bucks." "Bound to cause harm." "Potentially dangerous."

On the green slopes at the Washington Monument, only

a sprinkling of people had gathered. There was an air of bustle and expectancy, but the only drama by 10:30 was that a child had been found and that his name was Roosevelt Johnson.

What happened then happened slowly but mightily, and by 11:30 a mounting tide of people, placards aloft or handbags hanging, were walking down Constitution Avenue towards Lincoln's temple.

"Americans don't know how to march," said a walking reporter, and then added: "Thank God."

There was, indeed, no attempt at lines, at rhythm, at any formation whatsoever. They did not even stick together, except in the loosest way, by groups or states, or

organizations, or bus-loads. They just walked—mostly black, but partly white—like people who know where they are going but are not making a show of it.

By noon two great rivers flowed along either side of the Reflecting Pool until both verges and all the approaches to the Memorial of the man who thought he had freed them were solid with people.

What people? No enemy, no plague. A people serious but relaxed; almost festive. Among the neatly suited men, who did not even in the sun take off their coats and ties, were many handsome and stalwart young Negroes, many middle-aged ones of substance and

gravity. Many of the young women were beautiful, many of the older ones distinguished. To one of them, by the banks of the pool, under the trees, I said, "I think Lincoln is moved by this; he must know what is happening." She glanced suddenly and said, "The dead know much more than we think they do. I am so proud of my people!"

And the whites? Many of the men were clergymen, or looked like teachers. They had thin, serious faces that seemed unsoftened by money. There were many young men who held placards that said Unitarian Universalists, or Religious Liberals, Students, or CORE; and comparatively few beatniks. These, wet-

Lincoln's Temple...

lipped, sparse-bearded, with hair long on the nape, usually walked with their inevitable counterparts, the girls whose dank straight hair escapes from pins and ribbons, whose toes are dirty. The older white women—and there were many—looked, again, like teachers, or the wives of teachers; more concerned with others than with themselves.

Whoever they were, wherever they sat, there was no tension, only a sort of quiet sense of purpose. They spoke little, they laughed rarely, although they smiled often; they ate their picnics, they listened to their transistors, they clapped their speakers. Brown legs and white legs hung down into the pool, a

Negro youth gave a final shove to a white boy struggling up the limb of a tree, and no matter who jostled or stepped over whom, there was always the low "excuse me..." "excuse me, please."

Great amplified voices sang "Oh Freedom—Oh Freedom"..."before I'll be a slave, I'll be buried in my grave..." and they clapped to that and to "the whole world in my hands" and listened quietly to "How many times must a man look up before he can see the sky?"

The loudest sounds from their throats came in response to the words of Walter Reuther, but only one woman really shouted like a

revivalist. She was walking back from the March with a transistor to her ear, and with a voice like a bronchial crow she screeched "Yes!" and "Right!" right into it.

It was a wonderful and immensely important thing that happened here. And the only pity of it was that the people who fled it, the people who deplored it, the people who resented it, missed one of the great democratic expressions of this century: a people claiming, with immense control and dignity, the American rights long denied them.

The March had to happen. Nietzsche said "Great problems are in the street." This one, certainly, can never be under the rug again.

March Stirs Conscience of the World

By John Maffre
Staff Reporter

The world sought the image of its own conscience in the waters of the Reflecting Pool yesterday.

As the marchers paced out this mass exercise in human dignity near the shallow lagoon, uncounted millions from Accra to Zanzibar turned their eyes to Washington as they have for few other events in American history.

Some were hopeful and proud, others were militant, according to the news reports streaming in here. But the question that jogged the conscience of most was stated in Rochester, N. Y., by the Most Rev. Arthur M. Ramsey, Archbishop of Canterbury and primate of the global Anglican Communion: "Are we doing in our own countries, our own churches

and our own cities all that we should be doing?"

It was not a matter of watching as bystanders, he said, but of taking the message of the event to heart in "examining our own consciences."

The immediacy of this message reached the televiewers served by Eurovision via Telstar as quickly yesterday as it was seen on TV screens in suburban Bethesda.

Twice during the day the combined coverage of ABC, CBS and NBC was beamed to pickup points in Britain and France, and relayed to Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland and Italy.

to date on the progress of the march.

USA also stepped up its production of photographs rushed to overseas distribution points, its videotaped programs drawn from the commercial TV coverage and a film documentary that should be completed by Friday.

In London, Fleet Street brought out its largest type and some of its strongest cartooning acid for the event. "The Greatest Negro Spectacular in History" was the bannered it.

The Guardian front-paged a cartoon showing Uncle Sam sitting on a Negro's head and thumping the American Constitution with the caption: "Well, what do you know, it has daily programming in 30 languages over Voice of America so that listeners London's voice of labor, the

Daily Herald, reported from Washington that this "canker at the Democratic party's soul" had risen to confront the Kennedy Administration: "Now, however, he must make like a liberal if it chokes him."

The right-wing Daily Express hailed it as a turning point in American history, and observed that "the British people are not the kind to show anything but understanding for the Americans on this difficult day."

In Moscow, the Soviet news agency, Tass, said the "impressive" march aimed at securing economic as well as political equality for American Negroes.

"The Freedom March undoubtedly will have big repercussions on the domestic situation in the United States, notwithstanding the desire of the ruling circles of the country to channel the Negro movement into . . . curialed demands. They will hardly succeed in this attempt."

Moscow, however, cancelled plans to televise the Freedom March five minutes before it was due to pick it up from the Telstar satellite. No explanation was given.

The arrangement had been to pick the signal up from Eurovision, and feed it into the Soviet satellites' intervention TV network.

(London's Communist Daily Worker, echoing the party line, said the President "will no doubt try to fob off the marchers with fair words and vague promises.")

About 30 Negro and white Americans marched quietly to the U. S. consulate in Munich led by Al Hootman, a Negro former professional boxer living in Germany, and presented a petition calling for "equality for all Americans."

In a mildly astonishing letter to Ambassador John Rice at The Hague, Dr. Anne Von der Loo of the Dutch Labor Party said treatment of American Negroes "is not only a shameful affair for your country but also influences in the world the position of the allies."

But it added that the Labor Party was delighted with the President's civil rights proposals, and hope Congress would approve them.

In Tel Aviv, Israel, some 30 Americans marched to the American Embassy carrying banners with such slogans as "The Civil War Is Over" and "Black and White Together."

A front-page editorial in the pro-government Ghanaian Times in Accra said "the voice of the Afro-American cries out loud for freedom in America." About 50 Negroes picketed the embassy with placards called for "equal rights now."

In Rome, Vatican Radio hailed the march and stressed the urgent and unassailable need to eliminate all racial discrimination.

at the starting point, the Carson Blake said he was glad

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VIPs of White House Scarce at Memorial

By Bernard D. Nossiter
Staff Reporter

The Kennedy Administration was conspicuous by its absence from yesterday's civil rights demonstration.

Reporters were unable to spot any members of the White House staff or Cabinet officers. Only a handful of leading executive branch officials showed up at the Lincoln Memorial.

Demonstration leaders claimed that 150 Congressmen put in an appearance but newsmen counted about half that number.

March officials sent invitations to every member of Congress. Administration aides did not receive a formal bid.

The highest ranking Administration official on hand was Robert C. Weaver, head of the Housing and Home Finance Agency. He is the top Negro in the Government. Another high ranking Negro official, District Commissioner John B. Duncan made a brief appearance, and then returned to the District Building command post where the other two Commissioners had remained.

Among the other Government leaders present were Burke Marshall, Assistant Attorney General in charge of civil rights; G. Mennen Williams, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs and Frank W. McCulloch, chairman of the National Labor Relations Board.

Sen. Paul Douglas (D-Ill.) and his wife, Emily, arrived early and sat in the hot sun below the microphones on the Lincoln Memorial steps.

Shortly after the Memorial program got under way, several busloads of Congressmen and Senators came down from Capitol Hill. They filed onto the steps below the statue of Lincoln and were greeted with chants of "Pass the Bill, Pass the Bill."

Most of the House delega-

tion, numbering about 30, stayed for only 15 minutes and then returned to vote on the railroad bill.

The Representatives included Chairman Emanuel Celler (D-N. Y.) of the House Judiciary Committee and a good sprinkling from Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Michigan and California. The vast majority were Democrats.

The Senate delegation was led by Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), the Majority Whip. Others present were Eugene McCarthy (D-Minn.), Jacob Javits and Kenneth Keating, New York Republicans; Joseph Clark and Hugh Scott, Democrat and Republican of Pennsylvania.

Other Senators were Wayne Morse (D-Ore.); Clifford Case and Harrison Williams, Republican and Democrat of New Jersey; Hiram Fong (R-Hawaii); George McGovern (D-S. Dak.); William Proxmire (D-Wis.); Ernest Gruening (D-Alaska); Jennings Randolph (D-W. Va.), and Frank Moss (D-Utah).

Although the demonstration was aimed at expanding jobs as well as civil rights, organized labor's top leaders also stayed away in large numbers.

Besides A. Phillip Randolph of the Sleeping Car Porters and Walter Reuther of the Auto Workers, both organizers of the March, the only union presidents observed were Max Greenberg of the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers; James Carey of the International Union of Electrical Workers and Ralph Helstein of the Packinghouse Workers.

Other political notables drawn to the demonstration were Normas Thomas, the longtime leader of the Socialist Party and Mayor Robert Wagner of New York.

Rockwell Nazis 'Koput' in Counter Move

By Jerry Doolittle
Staff Reporter

Well and 74 supporters showed Rogers Allen, 32, was arrested up on the Washington Monument grounds at 6 a. m. only to find themselves quickly surrounded off by 200 Washington National Guard troops and National Guard troops during yesterday's civil rights march. It started early, when Rockwell deputy commander Karlton headquarters.

Sunday Quiet Prevails in Rest of City As Streets Empty for Rights March

By Charles Rabb
Staff Reporter

looked up and down K street travelled thoroughfares at noon time yesterday. It was like a Sunday while the civil rights program was in progress. Traffic along K street and other heavily traveled thoroughfares was only one-third or one-quarter of normal, police estimated.

About 2000 Stricken By Illness in March

By Howard Simons
Staff Reporter

A cool breeze was credited yesterday with mellowing the distress of Freedom Marchers. Memory, District and County health officials agreed that about 2000 persons were treated at hospitals and various first aid centers for ailments or injuries.

Of the total requiring medical aid, 79 required it at George Washington Hospital, town or D. C. General Hospital, but only eight of them were retained for further treatment.

Worst scare of the day followed a Health Inspector's discovery that chicken dinners prepared for distribution to hard-boiled soldiers were suspect for lack of refrigeration. The eaters were ordered to eat immediately after distribution had begun, but only three officers showed up for treatment.

Food poisoning symptoms, however, were not reported. The temperature was in the 70s.

First and fatigue were the most of the marchers' ailments. At the first aid stations, there were also a number of heat strokes.

One marcher was taken to a hospital after being hit by a car. Another had a fractured rib which was treated at the D. C. General Hospital. A third marcher, who was hit by a car, was taken to the D. C. General Hospital.

At the D. C. General Hospital, 100 patients were treated. At the George Washington Hospital, 79 patients were treated. At the D. C. General Hospital, 100 patients were treated.

Members of George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party walk back to their parked cars on the Virginia side of 14th street after one of their number was arrested on a charge of speaking without a permit at the March.

Rockwell, who had been speaking perill, and Rockwell's men the night before not to risk making speeches or otherwise present at the march.

The sole Nazi marcher came when Rockwell gathered his troops about him, and denigrated the marchers.

He got only as far as "We are here to protest by as peaceful means as possible." Demonstrators were in the square in shape and about 50 yards to a side. Policemen stood about a yard apart.

Police Capt. Thomas I. Herlihy warned Allen he would be arrested if he continued. Allen did, and he was arrested. He posted \$300 bond on a charge of making a speech without a permit. The case was set for trial in District Court.

Delegations Represent Many Areas of Nation

By John P. MacKenzie
Staff Reporter

From downtown offices and Washington suburbs, from Oregon, the Carolinas and Mississippi the marchers came in delegations of one and groups numbering in the hundreds.

Signs on buses and the bold print of placards told of arrivals from Fayetteville, Chattanooga, Youngstown, Tulsa, New Orleans, Kansas City and hundreds of other places.

A claim for the first busload arrival was registered by 38 students from Clarksdale and Greenwood, Miss. As other groups debarked and stretched their legs, the Mississippi group was the first to start singing.

Little Rock chimed in with another three dozen marchers. Their leader, the Rev. Walter Clancy, said they had "come a long way to emphasize our total agreement with everything that is being done here."

Wagner Marches

New York Mayor Robert F. Wagner led a delegation of the city's Board of Estimate into the March. Wagner, shrugging off as "nothing new" an anonymous bomb threat aimed at his airplane, said he was "particularly impressed by the large number of whites here." This should demonstrate "that the struggle for civil rights is not simply a Negro struggle," he said.

Also helping to broaden the issues of the jobs-and-freedom March were 150 members of the Washington Home Rule Committee with signs proclaiming, "Home Rule Is a Primary Civil Right" and "Solve Our Problems—Home Rule for D. C."

"Litmus Test"

The District Democratic Central Committee had a delegation of 500 with signs which read "D. C. D—ts" because of the ban on political labels. The home rulers were followed by two dozen march-

ers for the Washington Planning and Housing Association. "This is a sort of litmus test," one marcher pointed out. "Every budding politician is here."

Joining the river of people at 17th st. and Constitution ave. nw., the home rulers fell in with four busloads of United Auto Workers from Baltimore and a Methodist Church group from Brooklyn. Catholic University's delegation topped the 400 mark, and there were innumerable District and suburban denominational groups. There also was the local Women Strike for Peace, the Business and Professional Womens League of Washington and many neighborhood groups.

Utah, where civil rights is not a pressing issue, was represented by a group of 18, and Sen Frank E. Moss (D) seized the occasion to tell of his pride. He said on the Senate floor that the delegation "exemplifies Utah's dedication to the right of free petition, the right of free movement and, above all, freedom of spirit."

Among the Marylanders and Virginians were groups from Annapolis and Alexandria. They were joined by statewide delegations of NAACP members, civil liberties supporters and labor organizations.

Connecticut's two Democratic senators, Thomas J. Dodd and Abraham A. Ribicoff, were willingly buttonholed at the parade scene. They announced that they would meet any constituents at the Red Cross tent. Rep. Samuel S. Stratton (D-N. Y.) chose the shade of a nearby tree to entertain civil rights advocates. Delaware's delegation required more than 20 buses and exceeded 1800. Parading under a placard of "Canadians for Civil Rights" were five young persons from Toronto.

Capitol Hill Wears a Drowsy, Holiday Look Through March

THE WASHINGTON
A 26 Thursday, August 1969

Capitol Hill, the main target of yesterday's mammoth civil rights demonstration, wore a drowsy, legal-holiday look through it all.

An eerie quiet spread through normally bustling House and Senate corridors. The Senate subway, a heavy tourist attraction at this time of the year, ran empty cars most of the day.

Scores of offices, including those of both Northern liberal and Southern conservative, were closed. March leaders had discouraged individual lobbying on the Hill.

As A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the March, began speaking on the Lincoln Memorial grounds, the Senate was standing in recess. The House was in the midst of its debate over

legislation to head off a nationwide rail strike.

Absent from the House chamber were some 50 members who had left by bus for the Memorial. A dozen Senators also attended the ceremony.

"Office closed. Attending March," said a note on the closed door of Rep. Joseph P. Addabbo (D-N.Y.). The red, white and blue "We Shall Overcome" banner of the March was taped on the doors of Rep. William Pitts Ryan (D-N.Y.) and Donald M. Fraser (D-Minn.).

The dancing jam session. It lasted only briefly, with only the great Emancipator and a few reporters on hand to get a kick out of it.

The battle hymns of the civil rights movement, "We Shall Overcome," trumpeted the organist at the Lincoln Memorial ceremonies.

George Edsheim couldn't play the hymn from memory so a Negro minister came to the rescue. He roughly sketched the notes for Edsheim who soon had the hymn ringing on his organ.

Elevators carried 3331 visitors to the top of the Washington Monument through 3 p. m. yesterday, about 2000 fewer than on a normal day.

More than 4600 prisoners at District penal institutions were given the afternoon off yesterday to watch the civil rights rally on television. Director Donald Clemens of the Corrections Department said the prisoners—almost 4000 of them—were "quiet and orderly" while watching the demonstration.

But the Rev. O'Neill Shanley, of Boston, was an exception. Traveling here by bus, he left his fellow companions in Baltimore early yesterday and trotted the final 40 miles to Washington. He said that he never misses an opportunity to demonstrate the need for physical fitness.

Although a count even close to reality was impossible, thousands of pairs of aching feet were dangling in the tepid waters of the reflecting pool yesterday as the day wore on.

The entire rim of the Pool was occupied by the footsore, and there was great pressure on those who had laved their feet to move out and let others have a chance.

Shiny black Cadillacs initially were designated to transport March leaders to their Congressional conferences yesterday morning. But the lead-

ers demurred at the status symbol. So they rode in two airport limousines instead.

In the motorcade behind the March leaders were newsmen riding in—you guessed it—two shiny black Cadillacs.

Craig Sharp, dressed (in preparation for a miscarriage of the weather prediction) in a heavy Scottish tweed jacket, served as a one-man delegation from Glasgow University, of heat exhaustion on sent here by the faculty of the veterinary college, where he is a pathologist. Both Oxford and Cambridge Universities also sent representatives, Sharp reported.

Donna Richardson, 17-year-old daughter of Gloria Richardson, leader of the bitter civil rights struggle in Cambridge, Md., called yesterday's March "very exciting—but not nearly as exciting as Cambridge." She arrived here with three bus loads from her home town.

A 91-year-old South Bend,

face creased into a marble smile yesterday. It was when folksingers Peter, Paul and Mary touched off an impromptu hootenanny right under his left knee.

Just before the ceremonies at the Lincoln Memorial began, the trio currently appearing at the Carter Barron Amphitheater, whooped up a ray.

Auphograph hunters made a killing yesterday at the Lincoln Memorial after they discovered that the entrance and exit for the celebrities was at the rear of the Memorial looking toward the Watergate.

They moved in en masse around 3 p. m. and pounced on Sen. Hubert Humphrey (D-Minn.), Burt Lancaster, Robert

the March was physically exhausting enough.

was revived with Station's first aid center was placed on t

D. C. Proves Good Host For March

By Eve Edstrom
Staff Reporter

The Nation's Capital experienced little difficulty yesterday in playing host to the more than 200,000 marchers who began streaming into the city before sunup.

By the time their program at Lincoln Memorial was at its midway point, hundreds of the marchers had begun the homeward trek.

At 3:30 p. m., police reported that 1700 returnees already were queued up for trains at Union Station. The peak of the crush there was at 6 p. m. when more than 10,000 waited. But the pace of departing trains swiftened so that by 7:30 p. m. only 800 were left.

Earlier, some said they were departing because they could not get close enough to the Memorial to see anything. But in the spirit of the day, they maintained their good humor.

"I'm glad there were so many people to keep me from seeing things," said Leroy Swanson, 22, of St. Louis.

From every State of the Union and by every conceivable way, the marchers converged on Washington. More than 1800 chartered buses, carrying at least 60,000 marchers, rolled into the city starting at dawn.

Maryland police officials reported an almost continuous line of buses on the Baltimore-Washington Parkway.

Traffic also was swelled by the numerous marchers who arrived in private cars. All along the north-south route traveled by the demonstrators, traffic was reported "very heavy" by Maryland officials, but the exodus was orderly.

This was attributed to the fact that dispersal from the downtown area was gradual. Government employees were permitted to go home before the end of the demonstration. Traffic was reported heavy but lighter than expected.

At 4:55 p. m. the southbound lane of Memorial Bridge was re-opened to facilitate orderly dispersal, and the northbound lane opened shortly afterward.

Police in northern Virginia and suburban Maryland reported that evening traffic was moving with ease.

By 9:20 p. m. the last of the chartered "Freedom Trains" had pulled out of Union Station with some 18,000 demonstrators they had brought from point to the south and west of Washington.

Similarly, the last of the special buses began the long rumble homeward from their parking niches around the Monument grounds after delays occasioned by stragglers, unable to relocate their transportation, or forgetful in the excitement of the hour of departure.

The most stirring arrival at Union Station involved the "Freedom Train" transporting more than 700 from Florida, Georgia and South Carolina. Most of them were teen-agers, veterans of racial demonstrations which had earned them jail records in their home towns.

When they entered Union Station, they broke into a thunderous spiritual that reverberated through the terminal.

On the whole, all marchers put up with some discomfort. Many were sleepy from traveling all night. Others queued up for an hour or more at comfort stations and ice-cream stands. Some could not locate distribution points for the lunches which had been boxed for them.

But other preparations made for the marchers far exceeded need. For example, the Washington Urban League had obtained 3000 emergency bed spaces and the Knights of Columbus had obtained 1700 spaces for marchers who might stay overnight, but there were few takers.

The Knights, who also had planned to treat the over-nighters to dinner and breakfast, had only seven guests for their 1800 places. The Urban League had housed about 600 by early evening in private homes, universities and churches.

March Day Quiet One For Police

By Alfred E. Lewis
Staff Reporter

The local police department's "Longest Day" marched off into history last night in gentlemanly fashion — over a welcome mat which hadn't been frayed around the edges.

Police Chief Robert V. Murray said conservative estimates from all law enforcement sources indicated that some 200,000 civil rights demonstrators — imported and

Orderliness of the massive civil rights demonstration yesterday prompted a congratulatory statement by District Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner.

He praised the "marchers, the organizations in back of the marchers, our police, firemen, National Guard and police reserves in having successfully demonstrated to America and to the world that the right of protest can be peaceful . . .

home-grown—were present at the peak of the doings. He called it the largest crowd ever gathered in Washington as participants in a single event.

By nightfall, police counted only four arrests which could be directly associated with the big business at hand. A member of George Lincoln Rockwell's Arlington-based American Nazi Party was charged with speaking without a permit. Twenty-year-old Edward Shell, of 4661 S. 33th st., Arlington, elected to forfeit \$10 on a disorderly conduct charge. Police said he smashed a sign carried by one of the demonstrators at 26th st. and Constitution ave. nw.

A Prince Georges County juvenile was arrested in connection with the stoning of a busload of demonstrators as it passed through Bladensburg, and another Arlingtonian Robert Dugan, 21, of 1021 N. Jefferson st., was charged with carrying a prohibited weapon by police who said they found a loaded 20-gauge shotgun on the car seat beside him while he was driving to work as a computer for the Group Health Insurance Plan.

By 9 p.m. Deputy Police Chief Howard Covell ordered all special details relieved and announced that the department was once more back on its normal footing. All reservists and other police aides deputized for the occasion were de-deputized by order of Commissioner Walter N. Tobriner as of 11:30 p.m.

"It was like a church picnic," Chief Murray said his aides reported.

Augmenting every available member of the regular police forces here were 333 firemen and considerable detachments of police reserves, National Guardsmen, and Civil Defense workers. Four thousand regular Army troops did standby duty in Anacostia and at Ft. Myer.

Integrating the entire police operation was the most intricate radio network ever operational here. Chief Murray and his deputies cruised the demonstration area constantly in cars with two-way telephone links to a central communications set-up at police headquarters.

Murray said only one major traffic tie-up occurred. Shortly before noon, a group of buses inbound from the South I-495 timed their late arrivals with the start of the crowd's march to Lincoln Memorial. It immobilized movement on the northbound 14th st. Bridge for about 10 minutes. In the 12-hour period ending at 5 p.m. only 17 minor accidents were reported.

THURSDAY

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES

AUGUST 29, 1963

Now That The March Is Over

All America breathes easier today because the march on Washington was accomplished without untoward incident. The demonstration went off like any other parade and there was no occasion for violence; it had a revival-picnic atmosphere.

The question now arises, was it worth the effort? If it had been marred by trouble, it would have set back the causes for which the interracial demonstration was staged. Now that it has gone off without a hitch, can it be said that it advanced the causes?

The demonstration certainly will not change the views of Southern congressmen on the civil rights program proposed by President Kennedy, one of the causes for which the march on Washington was staged. Sen. Everett M. Dirksen (R-Ill.), Senate minority leader, has said he would support the program except for the private accommodations section. The rally didn't change his views nor, obviously did it change the views of those already in favor of the civil rights proposals.

The march may have had some effect on wavering Congressmen; the number of religious organizations that joined in stressed the moral aspect of civil rights legislation. Still there is a good deal of knowledgeability about his fellow Congressmen in Dirksen's remark, "I don't think any legislator worth his salt would let mere noise and fireworks change his convictions."

The march may not have had much influence on Capitol Hill, but it may have had an influence on the image of America in the eyes of foreigners. It called attention to the fact that the United States is going through a period of change in racial attitude. If this is properly understood it is useful. But what must foreigners think when they see signs that say, "Before We'll Be a Slave, We'll Be Buried in Our Grave," and "The Justice Department is a White Man"? These give the impression that the Negro's lot has remained unchanged since the Emancipation Proclamation, 100 years ago. The fact is, of course, that despite admitted discrimination and denial of basic citizens' rights in some parts of the country, the Negro in the United States, as an American, enjoys more opportunities than do most of the other peoples of the world.

This certainly should have been apparent to persons in other countries who saw the Lincoln Memorial rally on TV via Telstar (Russians did not).

The well-spoken orators, the well-dressed crowd, the good humor of the assemblage, the sophistication of the planning and lack of incident, all gave the lie to the charge recently by Red China's trade union leaders that American Negroes are victims of "fascist atrocities." The meeting itself, was a rededication to American principles and a rejection of Mao Tze-tung's bid to take over leadership of the colored peoples of the world against the whites.

Now that the march is over, it has been expected that the demonstrations of 1963 would taper off. The conditions to which they called attention are now well-fixed in the public's mind and improvements for Negroes are already under way. For example, greater efforts are being made to place qualified Negroes in jobs.

We were disturbed, therefore, by the statement of Bayard Rustin, deputy director of the march, that he saw the Washington rally as an inspiration for Negroes gathered there to go back to their home towns and "fight in his own way in the streets," and stage "intensified nonviolence." When the inevitable filibuster begins over the civil rights bills in the Senate, Rustin said 1,000 Negroes a day would be brought to Washington to stage their own filibuster and "proclaim democracy."

The time has come for the demands of Negroes to be taken out of the streets and into the conference rooms, as is happening in Chicago on school board complaints and job placements.

Rustin calls for more "nonviolence" but his record is hardly one to give him the right of leadership. He has served a prison term for violation of the draft law in World War II, he has been jailed on a morals charge, and he has a long record of association with Communists and leftwing causes.

The substantial citizens of the Negro community ought now take over and utilize in a practical manner the sentiment and moral support that the summer of Negro discontent has brought to the surface.

WEATHER

Fair and mild Thursday with a high around 80. See Page 91.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES

1963 by Field Enterprises, Inc.



Vol. 16, No. 179

Phone 321-3000

THURSDAY, AUGUST 29, 1963

120 Pages—7 Cents

200,000 MARCH

WASHINGTON (UPI) — Some 200,000 demonstrators from all across the country marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial Wednesday in the greatest—and perhaps most orderly—rally ever held for Negro equality.

Sometimes chanting freedom songs but more often striding in silence, the Negro and white

demonstrators jammed the eight-tenths of a mile between the gathering grounds at the monument and the memorial in their symbolic march for jobs and freedom.

Then, massed before the sorrowing figure of Abraham Lincoln, they heard their leaders submit 10 civil-rights demands. The demands ranged from equal access to jobs, and the

self-respect that goes with it, to total school desegregation now.

Almost Countless Crowd

The mass of humanity on the historic memorial grounds appeared countless, but Washington Police Chief Robert V. Murray put the figure at upward of 200,000, including spectators. But he said "Most of them were part of the march itself."

"Great, simply great," exclaimed Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., looking out over thousands of waving red, white and blue placards.

"Like a church picnic," said Deputy Police Chief Howard Covell as some of his men found so little to do they opened box lunches and began munching on sandwiches.

The rally took on some as-

pects of a revival meeting soon after the marchers poured into the capital on trains, more than 1,500 buses, nine chartered planes, and by auto and on foot. One, Ledger Smith, rode 700 miles from Chicago on roller skates.

They came from hundreds of cities and hamlets in masses that represented nearly every condition of humanity from elderly

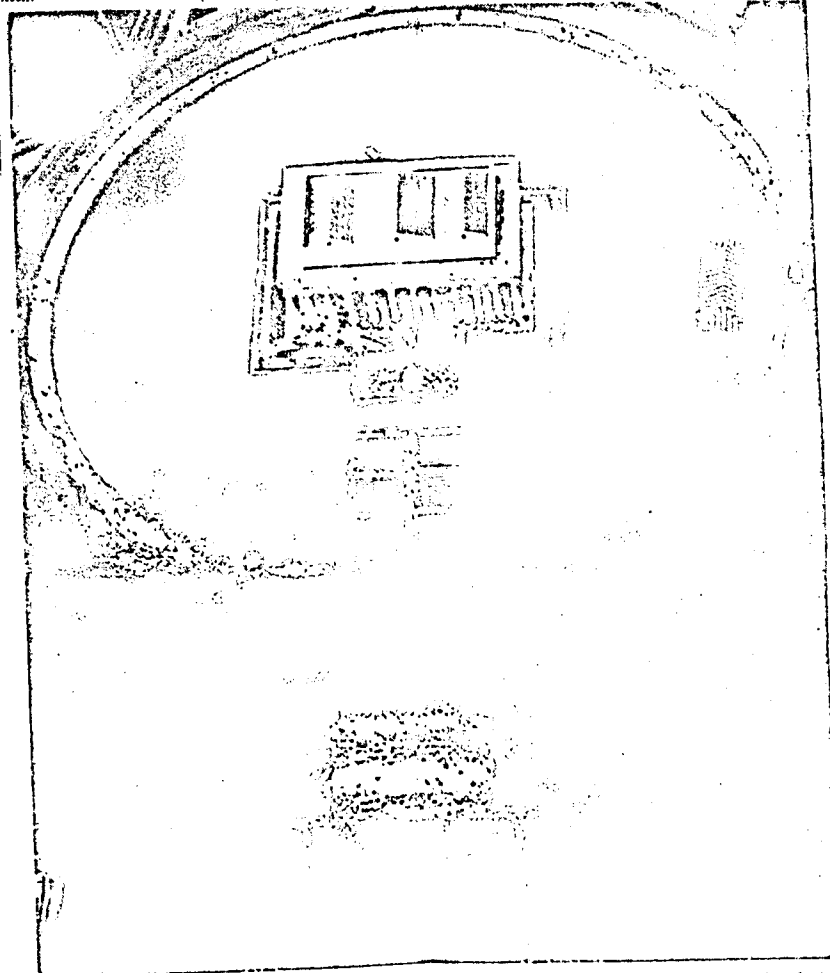
white clergymen to young descendants of slaves—convinced, they said, that this was the high point of the long rights battle.

"We march to redress old grievances and to help resolve an American crisis," one slogan said.

As the afternoon wore on, women in the throng started

Turn to Page 2

No Rail



First Amendment to the Constitution guarantees the Lincoln Memorial at the height of Wednesday's march on Washington. The demonstration was un-

Kennedy Backs Rights 'Plea'

Speakers Stress 'Freedom Now'

WASHINGTON (AP)—On the day of the massive march for Negroes' rights, President Kennedy declared, "We must accelerate our efforts to achieve equal rights for all our citizens."

The President thus lent his support to the cry for "freedom now" expressed by speaker after speaker—Negro and white—in the shadow of the towering statue of Abraham Lincoln, who freed the slaves 170 years ago.

The vehicle for Mr. Kennedy's declaration was a bit unusual—a Labor Day statement made public five days ahead of that holiday. He said:

"These recent months, 100 years after the Emancipation Proclamation, have seen the decisive recognition by a major part of our society that all our citizens are entitled to full membership in the national community. The gains of 1963 will never be reversed."

Solid Foundation Seen
The President's 1,000-word statement added that recent developments "lay a solid foundation for the progress we must continue to make in the months and years to come." Then Mr. Kennedy appealed for accelerating the drive for equal rights for all citizens—in employment, in education, in voting, and in all sectors of our national activity.

Negroes and their white supporters who marched from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial gathered around the reflecting pool to

hear leaders of the 10 organizations sponsoring the rally explain their cause.

There were pleas for Divine help for the cause from the clergy—a Roman Catholic, a Jew, a Protestant.

Urgency Stressed

The urgency keynote of the demonstration was stressed by John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, who told the gathering:

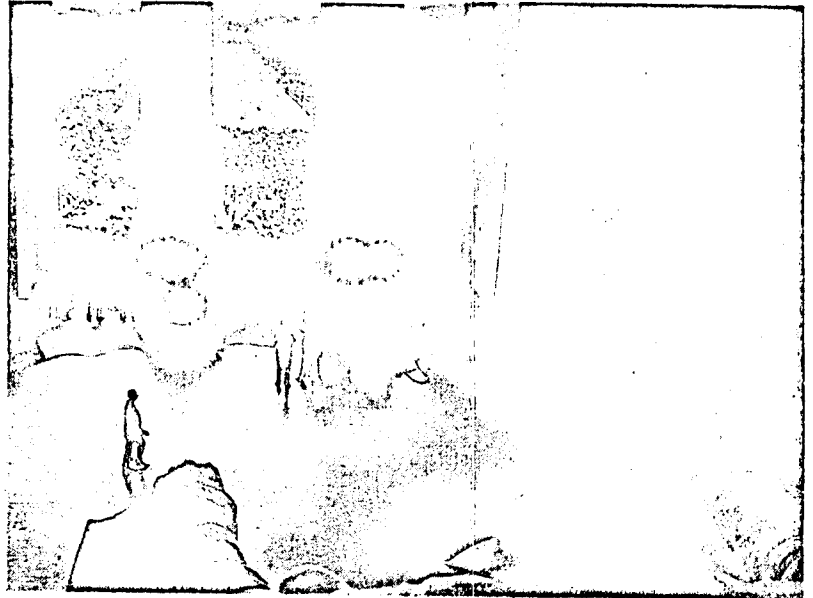
"To those who have said 'be patient and wait' we must say that 'patience is a dirty and nasty word.' We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually, we want our freedom now."

He skipped this sentence that was in his prepared text: "We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence."

Part-Way Support

Lewis said, "In good conscience, we support the administration's civil-rights bill, but with reservations. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality in its present form."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Assn. for



Abraham Lincoln, the President who freed the slaves, is present in sculptured form at Washington march participants

gather on either side of the reflecting pool between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Monument. (UPI)

Page of pictures on Page 20.
Will the march influence legislators' votes on civil rights? Carleton Kent's story is on Page 22.
Walter Lippmann's view, Page 76.

the Advancement of Colored People, sounded a similar note, saying:

"The President's proposals represent so moderate an approach that if any one is weakened or eliminated, the remainder will be little more than

government, which can regulate the contents of a pill, apparently is powerless to prevent the physical abuse of citizens within its own borders."

Whitney M. Young Jr., executive director of the National Urban League, said, "We must work together even more closely back home." He continued:

"That we meet here today, in common cause . . . is to the

Turn to Page 24

Chicagoans Keep In Step At Capital

By James Hoge

Sun-Times Bureau

WASHINGTON — Chicago marchers were right in step with the festive spirit of Wednesday's civil-rights demonstration.

The rigors of a 16-hour coach train ride to the capital failed to dim their eagerness, excitement and pride.

They were proud of the orderly and dignified manner of the crowd, they were excited by the sight of more than 200,000 persons in the march, and they were eager to play a part in making the day a success.

"Can you imagine missing this?" exclaimed Mrs. C. H. Hunt, 6635 S. Racine.

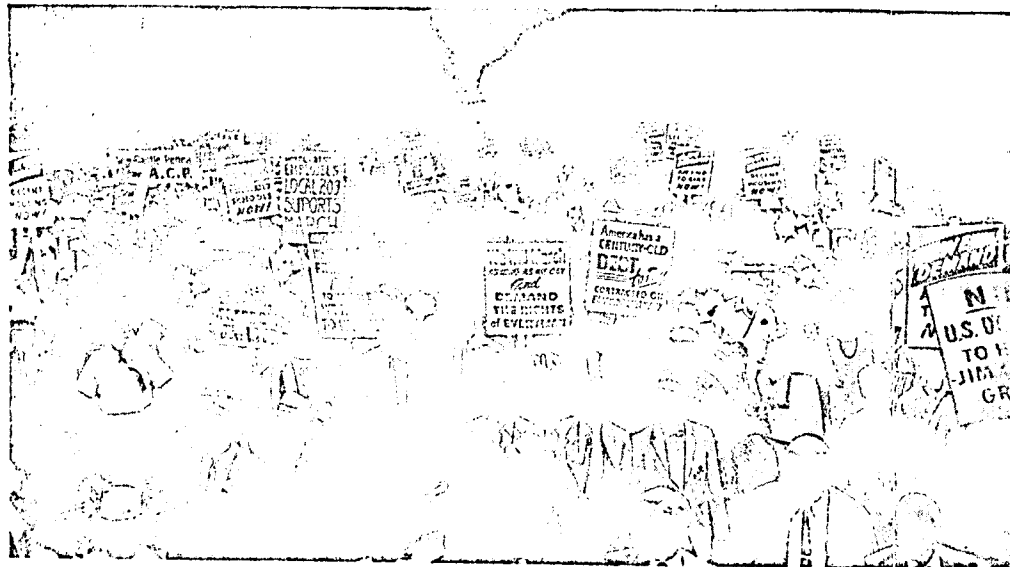
"You know this is inspiring," crowed Charles Hunt, a 34-year-old union steward who lives at 1365 E. 62d.

"We've got the ball rolling now," added Herbert Nailer, dressed in a white dinner jacket and purple fez of the Elks Fraternal Organization.

"Let's see Congress ignore this one," said Frank Brown, of 44 E. 76th, a 40-year-old veteran of two wars.

Though of one spirit, the

Turn to Page 24



Constitution Av. appears filled with placard-carrying marchers as the civil-rights demonstrators head toward the Lincoln Memorial. (AP)

Chicago Contingent Keeps In Step At Capital

Continued from Page 3

Chicago contingent was varied in makeup and motivation.

Nearly one-third of the 1,700 who came by train were white, and for the most part, young and intense.

More relaxed and clearly along for the sociability of the occasion as well as its more somber purposes were a number of middle-aged Negro women, sporting colorful summer hats and dresses.

Unions In Protest

There were members of the United Auto Workers, the United Steelworkers and other unions, protesting the high rate of unemployment.

Making primarily a moral stand were ministers and laymen representing Protestant, Jewish and Roman Catholic organizations.

Sidney Ordower, 451 W. Wrightwood, said he was here for practical as well as other reasons. Ordower is a white vice president of an auto sales firm in a Negro neighborhood.

Mrs. Margaret L. King, 3147

W. Douglas represented some 9,000 members of two south side women's clubs. Mrs. King had three signs draped down her front, two down her back and one placard in her hand.

"I've got a bag full of signs and buttons and what-not. If I wore every sign my friends gave me, I couldn't walk," she said with a laugh.

Makes Trip At 95

Ninety-five-year-old Samuel Harris, 1530 E. 74th Pl., made the trip because he hasn't for-

gotten the disappointment of losing his printer's job to automation 20 years ago.

As the march got under way from the Washington Monument, Sen. Paul H. Douglas (D-Ill.) joined the Chicago contingent.

The senator — one hand holding Mrs. Douglas and the other greeting a throng of well-wishers — fell in behind a huge placard of the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago.

He called the march "an

inspiring river of humanity . . . a moving tribute to the hopes of so many Americans."

The march began down Independence and Constitution at a slow but steady pace. Not until the malls around the Lincoln Memorial were packed did the stream of marchers grind to a halt.

They were backed up for blocks at noon as the official program of songs and speeches got under way.

Speakers Stress 'Freedom Now'

Continued from Page 3

shame of those who have always blocked the progress of the brown American and those who would make deals, water down civil rights legislation, or take cowardly refuge in technical details around human rights . . ."

CORE Chief's Message

James Farmer, national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, who is in a Donald-

sonville (La.) jail in connection with racial disturbances, sent a message saying:

"You have said to the world by your presence here . . . that in an age of thermonuclear bombs, violence is outmoded as a solution to the problems of men."

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, said what is needed now is bold and adequate action "to square

American democracy's performance with its promise of full citizenship rights and equal rights for all Americans."

'Democracy On Trial'

He said, "The cause of freedom is on trial in America today and American democracy is on trial in the eyes of the world," and the struggle for freedom "cannot and should not wait for some distant tomorrow."

Triumphal March Silences Scoffers

By Marquis Childs

IT WAS part camp meeting, part joyful picnic and part a determined, almost fierce political rally uniting people of so many kinds and conditions.

Above all, it was an answer to the scoffers hoping for the worst. Gov. George Wallace of Alabama had sneered at what he called an organized civil war, a rabble looking for trouble.

No one watching that vast crowd sweeping away from the Lincoln Memorial could help being impressed by the quiet and the patience with which they stood as the hours wore on, listening to a program that was inevitably too long. They had come from all over the country, schooled in the need for dignity and restraint. All the dire forebodings about what might happen with such an influx of people were put to naught.

At times it seemed they were almost too restrained. Only when the chant, "Pass that bill," now and then swept over the assemblage, starting just under the speakers' platform and sweeping out to the farthest reaches under the elms along the mall, did the crowd seem to take life.

BUT THE depth of feeling was there just beneath the surface. In the response to the fiery words of John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, calling for the marches and the demonstrations to continue until equality should be won, you could be sure that this was not just a glorious outing that was an end in itself. The Negro leaders who spoke were all veterans of a war still going on, and the march was merely a pause in which to rectify battles won and warn of the long and difficult campaign still ahead.

How much that great demonstration—the greatest test in the history of the Capital—will mean for civil rights legislation is hard to say. In the cold light of the morning after, as the weary marchers return home, it may seem small indeed. Attitudes are hardening on both sides of the integration line.

In the House, members of the liberal bloc feel that the Kennedy Administration has made a characteristic tactical error in asking for less than a full measure of civil rights and expecting to take less than that. Rep. James Roosevelt and others have been pressing the White House to include a fair employment practices provision. The crowd held up an impressive number of signs calling for a Federal FEPC.

Administration supporters are saying that it will be enough to get the basic structure of civil rights legislation, then expand upon it in the years ahead. A lot of hard work and a lot of luck will be necessary for even the first fundamental step. But if the legislation is watered down—the public accommodation section amended to cover only establishments with 50 or more employees for example—the deep and dangerous frustration for which the march was a temporary outlet will build up again.

The crux of the whole matter is jobs. The most forthright expression of this came from Walter Reuther of the United Auto Workers. Without jobs for both whites and Negroes in an expanding economy, civil rights tend to seem a theoretical privilege for the affluent of both races.

REGARDLESS of how much it finally means in the civil rights score, this great orderly mass outpouring will go down in the history of the Capital as a triumph. The setting and the day were perfect. As the hours wore on, the shaft of the Washington Monument threw a deepening shadow on the Reflecting Pool, framed by the crowd stretching almost its entire length.

They had sat through to the end with little movement, with people cooling and going only at the edges as the oratory wore on. They were rewarded by the closing speech of Martin Luther King Jr. which rose above mere oratory to a moving peroration of what the future can mean for an America that has wiped out the hatred of race prejudice.

King and the other leaders had shown not only that they could organize such a gathering but that in this critical juncture they could hold the support of the mass of the Negro people. The extremists were pushed to the remote sidelines. And that is perhaps the greatest measure of the success of a day that has had few if any parallels in the life of this city.

The Washington Post

The "March"—Photo Report *continued*

an informal stroll through the parklike area. It was just people walking, not marching.

A few young people could be seen strutting, or "cake walking," in the style made familiar by Mardi Gras parades. Surprisingly, few people strayed toward the White House, just a short distance away. There were more policemen at the gates than usual, and extra units of police with radio equipment patrolled the White House grounds.

At the Lincoln Memorial, as the size of the crowd swelled, neither police nor leaders of the march knew what to expect. You got the feeling that there was always the possibility that the throng, ignited by some spark, some faint, might turn into a heaving, frightened mob. But such a moment of terror never came.

A group of U. S. Senators and Representatives—75 to 100 strong by their own estimate—filled into the stands. They received an ovation. Then there began a steady chant, "Pass the bill—pass the bill"—a reference to President Kennedy's civil-rights legislation, awaiting action by Congress.

"Stay in the streets!" Several of the Negro speakers referred to the demonstration as "this revolution." They urged the marchers to step up their civil-rights activities and, as one speaker put it, "to stay in the streets of every city in the country until this fight is won."

Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, told them, "You've got religion here today. Don't backslide tomorrow."

The crowd was stirred momentarily by the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, a veteran leader of the Negro civil-rights campaign.

"There will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights," said Dr. King. "The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges." He congratulated the Negro marchers on their "marvelous new militancy."

Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, an Under Secretary of the United Nations, hailed the march as "a tremendous occasion, and a profoundly historic one." He said, "The number of white persons in the crowd is a splendid thing."

Toward the end, the crowd was exultant over the success of the march, but it never really "caught fire." There was no need to call in the 4,000 military troops who were standing by, in full battle dress, at nearby military posts—ready to be airlifted to the scene in helicopters.

As the marchers straggled back to their buses, trains and autos, their leaders went to the White House, where they were given tea, food and words of congratulation by President Kennedy. The big march on Washington was over.

But, for many, the job they had set out to do was just beginning.

Walking through the milling throng, you could hear such comments as these:

"They say colored people don't stick together. Well, when they do, they can move mountains. I came from Gadsden, Ala., because I wanted to see a mountain moved."

Another marcher: "This won't cure cancers like Birmingham and Oxford, but it sure helps to ease the pain."

"Man, we gotta keep shaking the earth to get what's coming to us," said a young Negro.

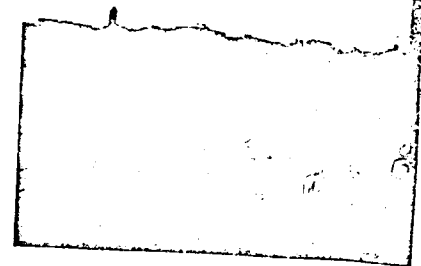
The organ at the Lincoln Memorial kept playing the battle hymn of the demonstrators, "We Shall Overcome." But by now they were too tired to sing.

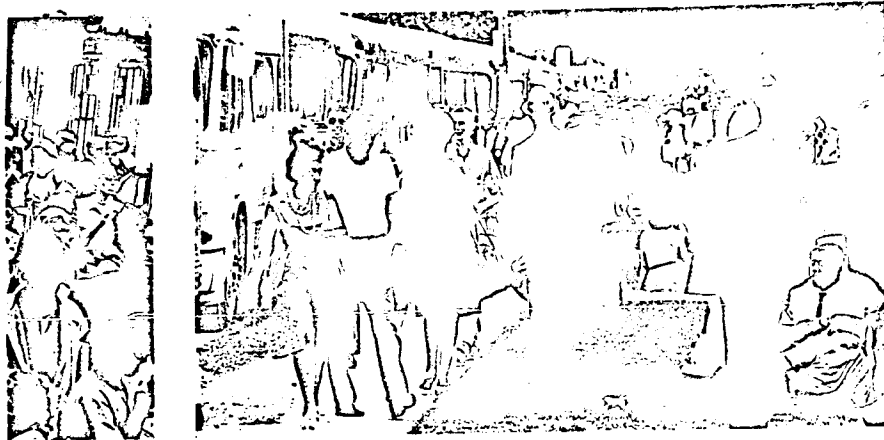
One weary visitor, trailing his "Freedom" sign along the ground, said: "Oh, it was wonderful. But those Congressmen will go back to Capitol Hill and talk for another year without doing anything for us. We're gonna have to come back again next year—100,000 of us."



BY TRAIN, from the South, the West and the North, church and civic groups arrived at Union Station to attend rally. Riding in day coaches, some had not slept for many hours. But they sang their "freedom" songs en route to the march.

PACKED TIGHTLY on Washington Monument grounds, the growing crowd waited impatiently for the signal for march to begin. Then, in two main streams, it flowed the few hundred yards to the Lincoln Memorial for main ceremonies of day.





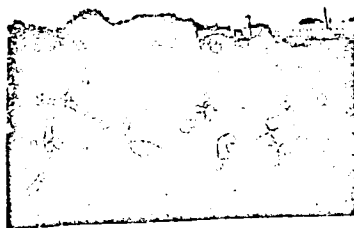
BY BUS, in caravans that sometimes rode bumper to bumper, other marchers streamed into city from far and near. Most were Negroes, but an estimated 20,000 whites made trip to give support.

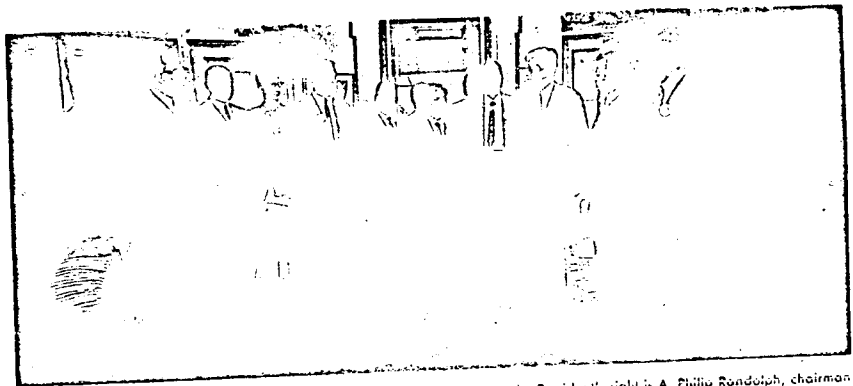
SECURITY FORCE of police and National Guardsmen was prepared for any kind of trouble, but had little to do but direct traffic, help victims of exhaustion to first-aid stations.



DOWNTOWN STREETS were almost deserted as Washington took on appearance of a "ghost city." The stores drew few customers.

Photo Report continued on next page >





PRESIDENT KENNEDY received leaders of the march at the White House. At the President's right is A. Philip Randolph, chairman of the march. Mr. Kennedy expressed sympathy with group's aims, served his guests tea, coffee, milk and sandwiches.

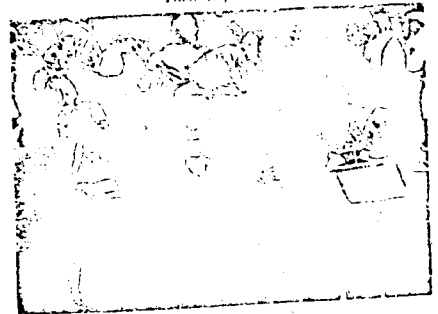
CONGRESS was represented by 75 to 100 Senators and Representatives. Audience chanted, "Pass the bill," a reference to demands for civil rights laws.

COOL WATER of Reflecting Pool along Mall between Washington Monument and Lincoln Memorial was balm for aching feet of many after hours of standing.



OLDER PEOPLE who made the march were glad of a chance to sit on bench in the sunshine and listen to speeches.

Photo Report continued on next page.



THE WASHINGTON POST Wednesday, Sept. 11, 1963

Cost of March to District \$163,794

The March for Jobs and Freedom cost the District \$163,794, according to tentative figures released yesterday by Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W. Va.), chairman of the Senate District Appropriations Subcommittee.

He said the District Commissioners will present firm figures when they appear before his Subcommittee to discuss their budget requests.

Hearings on the budget begin next week.

In defending the often high costs of operating the District Government, the Commissioners have pointed out that the District runs into unusual expenditures because of its role as the Nation's Capital. Costs of special police details and sanitation crews for the civil rights march were such unusual expenditures.

The total did not include \$50,000 for box lunches served police. This cost is still in controversy. Fourteen police men became ill after eating the lunches. The Health Department found organisms in the lunches that could cause food poisoning.

The estimated cost of diverting District employees from their regular jobs to work in the area of the civil rights

rally was \$38,998 while out-of-pocket expenditures were \$74,798.

The highest single expense was for police, which totaled \$99,250. Other costs were Fire Department, \$15,901; Department of Corrections, \$3,145; Sanitary Engineering, \$18,731; Highways and Traffic, \$11,357; Health Department, \$13,369; and National Guard, \$2041.

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Arthur B. Caldwell - Civil Rights	x 2194	[REDACTED]
Courtney Evans - FBI	[REDACTED]	[REDACTED]

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Joseph A. Califano -General Counsel (URGENT - 11-74807) 11-75855	11-79235, (Rm. 2-E-614)	[REDACTED]
Col. Robert W. Kane - MDW	11-56444	
Col. Gordon C. Jung	11-55737	
Col. Leon S. Lawrence	11-73748 11-55737	
General Wehle - MDW	11-52787	
Major Enderle - Signal Corps	11-77895	
Lt. Gen. Leonard D. Heaton - Surgeon General	11-63335	[REDACTED] or [REDACTED] (Walter Reed)

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Commissioner

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~~J~~ Jerry Bruno

FE 3-8750

~~F~~ Frank Martin

333-5187

GSA

~~H~~ Heinz A. Abersfeller - Regional
Administrator, Region 3

13-36146

August 27, 1963

MEMORANDUM

To:

From: Frank Montano

Subject: Leaders' Itinerary for August 28 March

8:30 a.m. Leave Statler Hilton Hotel, 16th St. side for Capitol by following route:

Down K St. to Massachusetts Avenue,
right to 3rd St., left on Pennsylvania Avenue.

9:00 Meet with Senator Mike Mansfield, Rm. 113, Old Senate Office Building.

Car will be parked at Constitution Ave. and 1st St. entrance. After meeting with Mansfield, go back to entrance of Constitution Ave. and 1st St., drive to the steps of the Senate side of the Capitol.

9:30 Meet with Senator Everett Dirksen, Rm. S 230, in the Capitol Building.

After meeting with Dirksen, go to House side on foot to Speaker's Room for meeting with McCormack.

10:00 Speaker's Room - Meet Speaker John McCormack, Congressman Carl Albert and Congressman Charles Halleck.

Examine car proceeds alone to House side steps where it will pick up leaders at end of meeting.

10:45 Depart Capitol by following route:

Down Pennsylvania Avenue to E St., left on E St. to 17th St., left on 17th St. to corner of Constitution Avenue and 17th St.

11:30 Begin march down Constitution Avenue towards
Lincoln Memorial.

1:30
2:00 p.m. Program begins at Lincoln Memorial.

4:00 Depart from Lincoln Memorial for the White House
by following route: (leaders will walk on the
~~same~~ level of speakers' platform around and in back
of Memorial, down flight of stairs to a car or bus
that is parked on the grounds at the Lincoln Memorial,
for departure to the White House)

Down 23rd St., to E St., to State Place
to S.W. entrance of White House.

5:00 Meet with the President.

Depart from S.E. gate of the White House for
T.V. appearance.

NOTE: After leaders have been delivered to starting
point at 17th and Constitution Avenue, leaders will
leave car or bus to march. The car then will turn
around, go back north on 17th St. to E St., left on
E St. to 23rd St., left on 23rd St. to back of
Monument.

Administrative Committee - New York

Cleveland Robinson, Chairman

OR 3-5120

Courtland Cox

Ann Arnold Hedgeman

Rev. Thomas Kilgore, Jr.

Rev. George Lawrence

James McCain

Gloster Current - N.A.A.C.P.

Guichard Parris

+++++

New York

William H. Johnson, Jr.

Southern Administrators

A. Philip Randolph, Director

FI 8-1900
(170 W. 130 St., N.Y. 27)

Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director

Dr. Aaron Henry

Worth Long

Att. Floyd McKissick

Rev. Wyatt Walker

THE REPORT BY THE TRAFFIC DIVISION AT 10:27 A.M. BY DEPUTY CHIEF LIVERMAN

He reports that 260 busses have been parked thus far; that traffic seems very light uptown; he reports that the people are very co-operative.

THE REPORT FROM THE HEALTH DEPARTMENT AT 10:30 A.M. BY DOCTOR HEATH

He reports that D. C. General has treated 3 of the participants in the Rally for usual illnesses; he states that the first aid tents report no unusual incidents or illnesses.

THE REPORT FROM THE DETECTIVE DIVISION AT 10:33 A.M. BY DEPUTY CHIEF LAYTON

He states that Inspector Sullivan estimates a total of 50,000 people now at the Monument Grounds; Detective Division reports that four groups of participants have gone to the Capitol for scheduled appointments; Detective Division reports 8400 people have arrived at Union Station by train and that 100 have arrived at the bus stations.

Office

Home

RED CROSS

Dan Lawrence

737-8300
(2025 E Street, N. W.)

Mr. Leonard

857-3642

SECRET SERVICE

Mr. Geiglein

184-5177

SENATE

Senator Bible - Senate District
Committee

180-3542

William S. Cheatham - Special Asst.
to Senate Sergeant at Arms 180-3651

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Office

Home

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Walter Reuther

EX 3-5581

Jack Conway

EX 3-5581

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WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPHERS ASSN.

George Gaylin

DI 7-1124

D.C. Transit

Morris Fox

FE 3-5200

*Glenn Florence Philly - 20, 301
Eugene Dares
(Highfield) -
EX 3-4300
X-381, 374
477, 476-*

THE REPORT FROM THE TRAFFIC DIVISION AT 4:50 P.M. BY SERGEANT LISKY

He reports that Negro Leaders are now at the White House

THE REPORT FROM THE FIRST DIVISION AT 4:55 P.M. BY DEPUTY CHIEF WALLRODT

He reports that about 2000 stragglers remain in the Memorial Ground, ;that the Mall is now cleared and that they expect that the Memorial Grounds to be cleared in about one-half hour

THE REPORT FROM THE FIRST DIVISION AT 4:59 P.M. BY DEPUTY CHIEF WALLRODT

He reports that they are still milling around in the Monument Grounds and that otherwise everything is clear over there

THE REPORT FROM THE TRAFFIC DIVISION AT 5:10 P.M.

The Traffic helicopter reports traffic is moving generally ~~WDX~~ well; it reports that none of the chartered busses are known to have begun to leave

THE REPORT FROM THE FOURTH DIVISION AT 5:13 P.M. BY LIEUTENANT NOLAN

He reports that everything quiet at the Capitol

THE REPORT FROM THE THIRD DIVISION AT 5:15 P.M. BY DEPUTY CHIEF JOHNSON

He reports everything is quiet in his area

THE REPORT FROM THE FIFTH DIVISION AT 5:25 P.M. BY LIEUTENANT SKINNER

He reports that at the last count he made about ~~Eighty~~ 8600 have arrived at the Union Station; that the train scheduled to depart at 5:10 p.m. departed on schedule and that another is scheduled to leave at 6:20 p.m., he reports that are opening the gates and thus relieving the problem of pedestrians in the Concourse

THE REPORT FROM THE TRAFFIC DIVISION AT 5:29 P.M. BY INSPECTOR WRIGHT

He reports that 23rd Street and Memorial Bridge southbound were open at 4:55 p.m. to traffic; he reports that northbound lanes are closed because of stands and equipment in the roadway; he said the traffic copter reports 75 or 100 busses have departed the city; and reports that shuttle busses have left the Memorial and Monument grounds with about 13,000 persons headed for Union Station

THE REPORT OF THE FIRST DIVISION AT 5:30 P.M. FOR DEPUTY CHIEF WALLRODT

Midnight men are being relieved. ~~EXERCISE DIVISION~~

THE REPORT OF THE DETECTIVE DIVISION AT 6:35 P.M. BY DEPUTY CHIEF LAYTON

He reports that Union Station seems well, that 2 trains have left for New York City, and that the last special train is scheduled to leave at 8:15 p.m.

dictum

MARCH NATIONAL LEADERS

**James Farmer, National Director of the Congress of
Racial Equality**

**Rev. Martin Luther King, President of the Southern
Christian Leadership Conference**

**John Lewis, Chairman of the Student Non-violent
Coordinating Committee**

**A. Philip Randolph, President of the Negro American,
Labor Council**

**Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the National
Association for the Advancement of Colored People**

Whitney Young, Executive Director of the Urban League

234-8300

NEGRO DIRECTORY

D. C. Coordinating Committee - 1417 U Street, N. W. - ADams 2-2320

Rev. Walter E. Fauntroy (Coordinator) - S.C.L.C.
March on Washington Hqtrs. - 234-8300 [Southern Christian Leadership Conference]

Study: DU 7-3517 Home: 723-6713

Joseph A. Beavers - N.A.L.C. [Negro American Labor Council]

Eddie C. Brown - Chairman of N.A.G. [Non-violent Action Group]

Rev. Edward A. Hailes - N.A.A.C.P.

Julius W. Hobson - CORE - 529-6541, WO 3-4766

Sterling Tucker - W.U.L. [Washington Urban League]

Frank Montero - 234-8300

+++++

David Apter - Public Relations - FE 8-5020
(1145 - 19th Street, N.W.)

Home: [REDACTED]

Cromwell - N.A.A.C.P. - Liaison with marchers - AD 2-2320

James McCracken - World Church Services - Riverside 9-2200
(New York)

Seymour Posner - Public Relations - headquarters for march -
170 W. 130 St.
New York 27, N.Y.
FI 8-1900

Calvin Banks - FI 8-1900

F. LINCOLN MEMORIAL [Cont'd]

- 36. CHAIRS
- 37. PROGRAM
- 38. SIGNS
- 39. MC
- 40. SEATS
- 41. SEATING

G. MARCH

- 42. PERMIT
- 43. LEADERS START AT 11:45
- 44. 17TH ST. and IND. AVE. -- CUT OFFS, BANDS
- 45. MINISTERS
- 46. MARSHALS
- 47. COMMUNICATIONS
- 48. BANDS
- 49. COLOR GUARD
- 50. POLICE SECURITY
- 51. MOTORCYCLES, HORSES
- 51a. REFLECTING POOL

H. PUBLICITY

- 52. MURRAY -- TRAFFIC PLANS
- 53. -- DISCOURAGE PEOPLE COMING INTO AREA
- 54. -- TOURS
- 55. -- DISCOURAGE COMING ON CARS
- 55a. PRESS FACILITIES - OK

I. INTELLIGENCE

- 56. NUMBERS ON TRAINS
- 57. NUMBERS ON BUSES
- 58. NUMBERS ON CARS
- 59. COMMUNISTS
- 60. ROCKWELL
- 61. MUSLIMS
- 61a. LOST AND FOUND

J. PLANS

- 62. CHRONOLOGY 10 LEADERS
- 63. CHRONOLOGY 10 LEADERS - WASHINGTON MONUMENT
- 64. CHRONOLOGY 10 LEADERS - MARCH
- 65. CHRONOLOGY 10 LEADERS - LINCOLN MEMORIAL
- 66. WARNING RE TRAINS
- 67. WARNING AT CONCLUSION OF MEMORAIL SERVICES
- 68. NOTICES RE DEPARTURES OF TRAINS
- 69. ORGANIZATION OF BUSES
- 70. ASSIGNMENT OF MARSHALS TO LEADERS
- 71. POSITIONING OF PERSONNEL
- 72. DJ COMMUNICATIONS
- 73. FOLIO OF MAPS

1. ~~Star Spangled Banner~~ 2:58-2:59

2. ~~Prayer~~ 2:00-2:03

~~O'Boyle~~ 2:03

3. ~~Randolph~~ 2:03-2

4. ~~Blake (Protestant)~~ 2:20-2:27

5. ~~Mpa~~ 2:27-2:29

6. ~~Lewis (SNCC)~~ 2:29-2:38

7. ~~CEUTHE~~ 2:38-2:46

~~Rabbit Prinz~~ 2:46-2:50

8. ~~Farmer (CORE)~~ 2:50-2:55

9. ~~Rabbit Miller~~ 2:55-3:00

~~Ohmann (Catholic)~~ 3:00-3:05

10. ~~Whitney Young (Urban League)~~ 3:05-3:10

11. ~~Wilkens (NAACP)~~ 3:10-3:15

12. ~~Nahalia Jackson~~ 3:15-3:20

13. ~~Freedom Singers~~ 3:20-3:25

~~Routher (SNCC)~~ 3:25-3:30

~~King (SNCC)~~ 3:30-3:35

~~Produce~~ 3:35-3:40

14. Benediction -- Mays

15. We Shall Overcome

16. 10 Leaders Leave for White House

17. RUSTIN.

We have the odds all wrong! With you there it was about 50-50!!

Washington Scene . . .

By George Dixon

Kennedy Wins a 210,000-to-1 Shot

I wouldn't be surprised if John Fitzgerald Kennedy looks back upon the week of Aug. 25 to 31, 1963, as the most gratifying week of his life. Everything went for him, including the winning of a 210,000-to-1 shot.

In those seven days a disastrous railroad strike was averted, a nuclear test-tan treaty grew almost certain of passage, and 210,000 emotionally triggered people marched on Washington without pulling a single trigger.

President Kennedy wound up last week more popular than the day he took office.

Not a single incident marred the civil rights march. There was a false alarm about a hidden bomb in the Washington Monument, but we have a false alarm in Washington every day.

There wasn't as much bickering as I used to see at the annual outings of our Sunday School. Our Sunday School picnics produced more fights over who was eligible for the fat ladies' race than the number that attended the entire March for freedom and jobs—NOW. I was personally responsible for more unsportsmanlike tripping and jostling in the

three-legged race than by all the 210,000 in the parade from the Monument Grounds to the Lincoln Memorial.

WE HAD 6000 policemen, or people acting as policemen, on duty for the march. We didn't need any. We had 17 police horses—no police dogs. The horses were there to dress up the show. They didn't snap or bite at anyone, even strange marchers who took liberties with them. If Bull Connor had used horses instead of dogs, the world would have a different picture of Birmingham.

About 350 of our city firemen acted as policemen, but not one of them used a hose, although I, for one, could have used a cool sprinkling. It was very hot. But nowhere among that incredible 210,000 did a temper rise to match the temperature.

That day, and that week, gave President Kennedy something wonderful to look upon for as long as he lives. A horse player going to the \$2 window to cash in a 210,000-to-1 ticket couldn't have felt more singled out by fortune. When you think of all the things that could have happened: just one vicious drunk yelling nasty epithets; just one planted provocateur scrawling on any of the mobile toilets "For Whites Only" . . .

NO MATTER what reversals may be in store for

him in the years ahead, the President can assuage his woe by looking back upon last week. He can also take gratification from the fact that he set the tone. Before the marchers came here he cautioned them not to be overoptimistic about what the demonstration would accomplish, but he didn't discourage them either.

Many of the Nation's leaders with whom I discussed his tone-setting told me he set the tone exactly right.

The President set the tone in exactly the right pitch after the March, as well as before.

When he met with the leaders of 10 key Negro organizations after the demonstration, he made the White House resound with harmony.

It was a memorable week for Mr. Kennedy in another way, too, probably one that will remain unique throughout his Administration. The White House issued only one statement: that the President was having a bit of recurring trouble with his back.

Outside of ol' rockin' chair gettin' him again, everything was euphorious for JFK. The weather was sublime for the march. Next day it poured rain.

The Lord seemed to be with him, too.

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Dixon

9/5/63



Thursday, Sept. 5, 1963 C3

'Gracious Hosts' of March

Wakefield because the Board exempted seniors from compulsory reassignment.

The three Negro schools remain without white students and school superintendent Ray E. Reid said he believes the families of most of the white students have moved from the County.

The chairman of the Senate District Committee praised the people of Washington and its suburbs yesterday for being "gracious hosts" to the Aug. 29 Civil Rights March.

In a floor speech, Sen. Alan Bible (D-Nev.) called the gathering of more than 200,000 persons "one of the greatest single demonstrations in this country's history" and said "This great capital city could not have

acquitted itself more admirably."

He commended the "detailed and thoughtful planning" by city and suburban leaders that "permitted this great demonstration to go forward in perfect order and great dignity."

Bible gave special credit to "the individual citizen of the Washington area," each of whom "lived up to the responsibility of welcoming Americans to their Capital." Praised individually was Wash-

Praised by Bible on Senate Floor

ington Police Chief Robert V. Murray for his "cautious, yet firm and understanding approach," which allowed "the many details in advance planning to fall into proper place."

Bible observed that "in many ways, the life of a policeman in Washington may well be more difficult than one in any other American city."

"It is here that they must have the patience, tact and courtesy mingled with effective forcefulness to do their jobs. It is here that small

problems can be telescoped into incidents of far-reaching impact."

Bible also had a good word for the District Commissioners, suburban police forces, Washington firemen who spent the day working with police, D. C. National Guard units called up for the day and Luke Moore, U. S. marshal for the District.

Bible said that "great credit must go to Washington's newspaper, television and radio media which devoted

much time and space to advance publicity about arrangements and which handled the reporting of that day's activities with great perspective."

He added, "In my judgment, there are few cities able to handle an assemblage of this size and character. Washingtonians have been conditioned to all types of demonstrations and hold the belief that every citizen is entitled to express his opinions in an orderly manner."

THE "MARCH" GAINS AND LOSSES

Now that the Washington "march" has been chalked up as a gain, look for shifts in civil-rights strategy. Ahead, Negroes are expected to concentrate on solid advances in jobs, schools, politics.

Negro gains and losses for 1963 are now being totted up by Negro leaders. On balance, they find more weight in the gains than in the losses.

The Negro drive for this year reached its climax August 28. On that date, more than 200,000 Negroes and whites from many parts of the United States marched in Washington, D. C., in a giant demonstration "for jobs and freedom."

It was the biggest demonstration of all in a year that set a record for Negro demonstrations.

By their "march" on Washington, Negroes sought to impress Congress and the nation with the power of their cause. After their march, Negro leaders expressed confidence that they had accomplished their goal. Many whites agreed.

Ahead: a new turn. Now, in the period ahead, the Negro drive is expected to take a somewhat different turn—away from the streets, toward schools and Congress.

Demonstrations, the Negro leaders vow, will continue. Within 24 hours after the Washington march, plans were announced for "militant" new demonstrations in Nashville, Tenn., Atlanta, Ga., and Durham, N. C. Further demonstrations in Washington also were threatened if a filibuster against civil-rights legislation should develop.

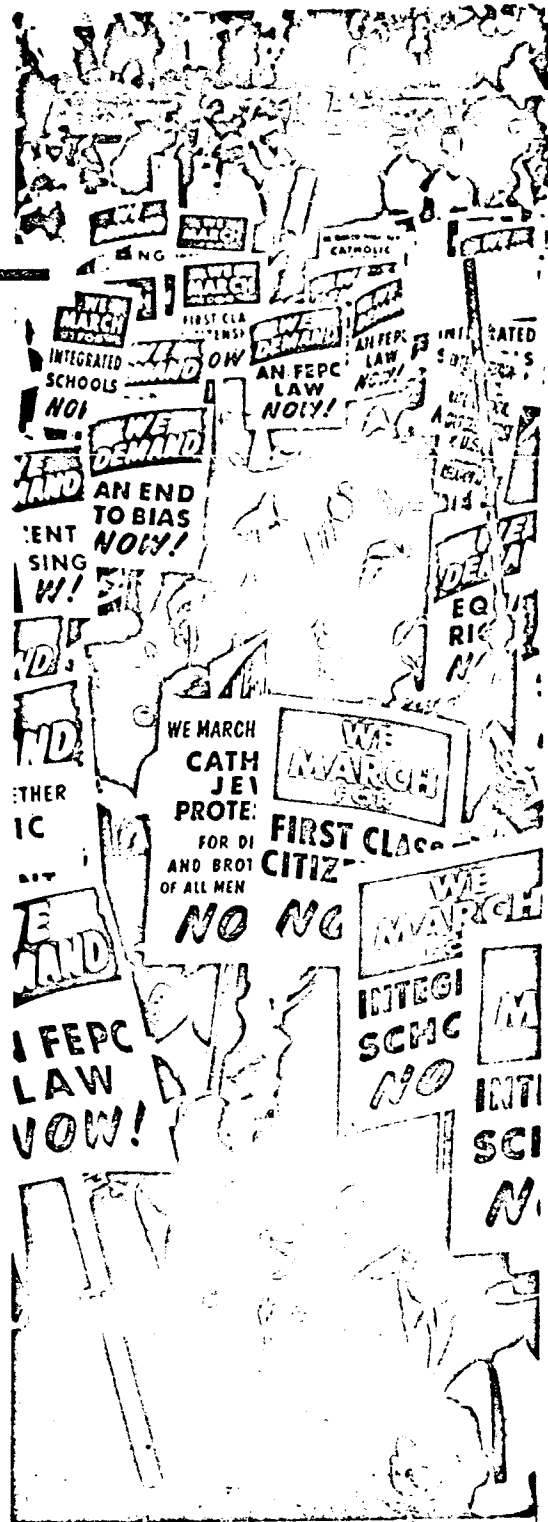
Demonstrations, however, are not expected to continue on the big scale of the summer.

Schools are opening, taking most teenagers off the streets. Days are becoming shorter. Nights will soon turn cool. Traditionally, mass tempers cool with the weather. Money, too, has become more of a problem for Negro leaders as costs of all the 1963 demonstrations pile up.

Demand for action. With the Negro drive moving into a new phase, the White House and Congress will feel mounting pressure for action on laws to speed integration and improve Negro chances for jobs, votes and housing. School boards in the North will be pressed to attack the problem of all-Negro schools in Negro neighborhoods.

Then 1964, coming into sight, will offer a new and different challenge. Negro plans for 1964 center more on politics—on local campaigns to elect members of Congress and on the national campaign to elect a President.

Looking back on the past year, Negro leaders see considerable gains. (continued on next page)



WASHINGTON MARCH climaxed summer of Negro demonstrations pressing for civil rights. Expected now: new tactics.

school authorities are resisting Negro demands for forced transfers of white pupils to schools in Negro neighborhoods.

In jobs, Negroes' biggest gains have been in the field of government.

The Federal Government has added more than 10,000 Negroes to its payrolls in the last two years.

Orders have gone out forbidding racial discrimination in hiring by private firms holding Government contracts.

Pressure from Washington is being applied to get labor unions to open their membership rolls and their apprentice programs to Negroes.

Biggest problem. It is in private employment that Negroes are having the most difficulty. A big problem here is the lack of qualification by many Negroes for the jobs available in modern industry. A recent survey showed many employers looking in vain for Negroes possessing the required skills.

Now developing among Negroes is a drive for more job training.

In housing, Negroes have made a few gains. A recent presidential order bars discrimination in federally assisted housing. A few communities have enacted open-housing laws.

A major Negro effort of 1963 has been directed at getting more Negroes registered to vote in an attempt to increase their political power. Campaigns have been pushed to get more Negroes registered to vote in the South. Results to date have been disappointing to Negro leaders. This campaign is one that will be pressed with growing vigor as the 1964 elections approach.

On the loss side. While totting up their gains, Negroes are finding, too, some losses.

In the South, the hard core of white resistance is still unbroken. In spite of all the Negro demonstrations, the South remains largely segregated.

In the North—where Negroes already have most of the things they seek in the South—the growing Negro demands are beginning to run into a stiffening resistance by many whites.

And, all over the country, many people are tiring of mass demonstrations. A July Gallup Poll showed 6 out of 10 people believed mass demonstrations more likely to hurt than help Negroes.

With their biggest demonstration—the march in Washington—now behind them, Negro leaders are preparing a new strategy for the future.

The outlook is for continued demonstrations, but smaller ones—a greater concentration on solid advances in jobs, schools, housing and politics.

For more on the march, and related articles, pages 36, 38, 68 and 82.

U. S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Sept. 9, 1963

SCORE SHEET OF GAINS AND LOSSES IN THE NEGRO DRIVE OF 1963



NEGRO GAINS:



Vast publicity for the Negro cause.



Many more Government jobs for Negroes.



Some increase in hiring of Negroes by private employers—principally those holding Government contracts.



More token integration in schools in the South.



New moves to lessen de facto segregation in big-city schools in the North.



Desegregation of eating places, stores and theaters in many Southern communities.



Opening some new residential areas to Negroes.



New economic power, through buying boycotts.



Small increases in registration of Negro voters in the South.



Introduction of new civil-rights legislation in Congress, with Administration backing.

Among Negroes—greater solidarity, closer co-operation in fighting discrimination.

Among whites—more personal participation in promoting the Negro cause.

NEGRO LOSSES:

A sudden growth of resistance to Negro demands in many Northern communities.

A spreading mood of fear and resentment among white people almost everywhere in U. S.

Hardening of white attitudes against breaking up neighborhood schools to achieve integration.

Injection of the race issue into politics in the North—where Negroes are badly outnumbered.

No real breakthrough in attempts to integrate suburban neighborhoods.

Failure to break white resistance in the South, even with use of federal powers.

Failure to gain real voting power in the South.

Failure, so far, to win action by Congress on new laws to promote integration.

A heavy financial drain on Negroes to pay for all the demonstrations of 1963.

ON THE MARCH

REPORT

[continued from
preceding page]

THE "MARCH"—GAINS AND LOSSES

able gains won by their people—and they count the march in Washington as perhaps their greatest success.

Out of that demonstration in the capital, leaders say, came a new feeling of power and pride among American Negroes. In numbers alone, the march was impressive.

The marchers were organized and disciplined. The march was recognized in advance as a risk. There were fears of

prepared a speech that contained such statements as:

"We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department nor the Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power outside of any national structure. . . .

"We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did."

The Most Rev. Patrick A. O'Boyle,

whites. From this, Negroes took hope of white support for their drive.

A major aim of the march was to muster congressional support for the new civil-rights legislation proposed by President John F. Kennedy.

Senator Hubert Humphrey (Dem.), of Minnesota—a backer of civil-rights legislation—summed up the opinion of most members of Congress this way:

"All this probably hasn't changed any votes on the civil-rights bill. But it's a good thing for Washington and the nation and the world."

Said the President: "The cause of 20 million Negroes has been advanced."

Counting results. The Washington march was the culmination of a long series of demonstrations that already had paid off in Negro gains.

This year has probably produced more desegregation in Southern communities than any other year.

Eating places long reserved for white people have been opened to Negroes. So have hotels, motels, theaters, public parks and golf courses.

Recent surveys show at least 200 communities in the South that have made some new moves toward desegregation in recent months.

More public schools are being desegregated in the South this year than in any year since 1957. At least 120 districts will be putting white and Negro children together for the first time.

Among these are Birmingham and Charleston, for the first integration in Alabama or South Carolina below the college level. It leaves Mississippi as the only State with still no mixed classes in grade or high schools.

School sit-ins? Despite these gains, school integration still has not moved beyond the token scale in most areas of the South.

On August 29, John Lewis announced a new kind of Negro demonstration to be used in such areas. He said:

"We will have hundreds of students walk from an all-Negro school to a white school and sit in to hasten the pace of integration."

Negroes have scored school gains in the North as well as in the South.

Chicago's school board on August 28 yielded to Negro pressure and moved to promote integration in schools in Negro neighborhoods.

New York City, a leader in promoting integration, recently adopted an "open enrollment" plan that permits Negroes to transfer to schools located in white neighborhoods.

Even in New York City, however,

WHAT NEGROES DEMAND

Here, in their own words as taken from their official "organizing manual," is what Negro leaders demanded in their August 28 march on Washington:

1. Comprehensive and effective civil-rights legislation from the present Congress—without compromise or filibuster—to guarantee all Americans

access to all public accommodations
decent housing
adequate and integrated education
the right to vote

2. Withholding of federal funds from all programs in which discrimination exists.

3. Desegregation of all school districts in 1963.

4. Enforcement of the Fourteenth Amendment—reducing congressional representation of States where citizens are disfranchised.

5. A new executive order banning discrimination in all housing supported by federal funds.

6. Authority for the Attorney General to institute injunctive suits when any constitutional right is violated.

7. A massive federal program to train and place all unemployed workers—Negro and white—on meaningful and dignified jobs at decent wages.

8. A national minimum-wage act that will give all Americans a decent standard of living. Government surveys show that anything less than \$2.00 an hour fails to do this.

9. A broadened Fair Labor Standards Act to include all areas of employment which are presently excluded.

10. A federal fair-employment-practices law barring discrimination by federal, State, and municipal governments, and by employers, contractors, employment agencies, and trade-unions.

conflict. But the Negroes won their gamble. There was no violence.

Temper of the speeches was determined—but moderate. This took some doing.

John Lewis, chairman of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee,

Catholic archbishop of Washington, read that speech before it was spoken and served notice he would not deliver the invocation unless changes were made.

Mr. Lewis deleted the passages to which the archbishop objected,

About one tenth of the marchers were

AS 200,000 MARCHED IN WASHINGTON—

IT WAS AN IDEAL SUMMER DAY—mixed sunshine and clouds, low humidity, refreshing breezes. Negroes and their white supporters—200,000 strong—came to Washington in excellent order. Incoming trains and buses moved with precision. There was no trouble.

The white people of Washington mostly stayed home. Many offices were closed. Fewer than half of the normal work force of 162,000 employees in the federal and District of Columbia governments went to their jobs downtown.

Most stores remained open, but there were few customers. All liquor stores and bars were closed. Not a drop of liquor, wine or beer could be served in restaurants and clubs. It was much like a quiet Sunday morning downtown. Streets out of the line of march—normally humming with workday traffic—were almost deserted.

Even crime took a holiday. Only one purse snatching was reported during the hours of the big demonstration.

The marchers for the most part were well dressed, orderly, cheerful. Many carried expensive movie cameras. There was only a scattering of children.

About 1 marcher in 10 was white. A few "beatnik" type—bearded young men and young women with hair trailing over their shoulders, wearing tennis shoes and dungarees—mingled with the crowd. One Negro group wore overall that looked as if they had just been taken off store shelves. Thousands were seeing their nation's capital for the first time. They were interested in the sights.

There never was anything quite like it before. The atmosphere was a combination of church picnic and political rally. There were hymn singing and entertainment by well-known artists. There were prayers and impassioned speeches.

Groups gathered under shade trees to eat box lunches. Long lines formed at mobile refreshment stands. Quite a few people stretched out on the lush, green lawns for naps.

Other adults dangled bare and aching feet in the waters of the Reflecting Pool that glistens between the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial.

A police force of 3,000 men, supplemented by about 2,000 National Guardsmen, had little to do except direct traffic and assist the more than 1,900 people who needed first-aid treatment for minor illnesses and injuries.

Placard theme: "Now." A forest of placards moved with the marchers. Most of the signs appealed for jobs and equal opportunities for Negroes and an end to bias. The key word usually was "now," in such messages as, "We Demand Equal Voting Rights Now." By mid-afternoon, many of the signs had been jammed into big, metal trash baskets that rimmed the demonstration area.

A number of white priests and ministers, in clerical garb, were among the marchers. An occasional African native costume could be seen in the crowd.

At the Washington Monument, where the huge throng first congregated, there was much laughter and good-humored chattering at first. But this gave way to a mood of solemn determination as the groups moved in two streams toward the Lincoln Memorial.

There was some confusion, but no disorder, as the march got under way. Over the loud-speaker system, someone kept demanding, "Where is Maine?" A man with a sign saying "Oregon" stood alone, unable to find his delegation of 60. Although billed as a "march," the procession was more of

(continued on next page)



KEEPING TIME, marchers sing spirituals and folk songs. Temper of big crowd was one of good-humored determination.



SHUFFLE of marching feet continued for hours as thousands upon thousands of demonstrators massed in nation's capital.

- 300 standing -

2- Back up Trains - 1 hr 30 min -

MARCH ON WASHINGTON IN SUPPORT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION
SPECIAL TRAINS

#	RAILROAD	NAME OF PARTY	ARRIVING FROM	EASTERN DAYLIGHT TIME	
				ARRIVAL	DEPARTURE
1	R & P		1200 Atlantic City, N.J.	7:30 AM	7:45 PM
2	B & O		(1900) Pittsburgh, Pa. (arriving 11:00)	7:30 AM	7:45 PM
3	R & P		1200 Pittsburgh, Pa.		
4	C & O		1200 Cincinnati, Ohio	8:15 AM	7:45 P.M.
5	R & P		1200 Cincinnati, Ohio	8:45 AM	8:15 P.M.
6	B & O		(1900) Miami, Fla.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
7	P.R.R.	NAACP - Phila.	(1900) Chicago, Ill.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
8	P.R.R.	Rev. Bayard Rustin	(1900) Philadelphia, Pa.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
9	P.R.R.	United Services for E. 1900	1900 Hartford, Conn.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
10	P.R.R.	United Services for E. 1900	1900 Hartford, Conn.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
11	B & O		1900 Hartford, Conn.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
12	P.R.R.	Harlem People's Union	1900 Newark, N. J.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
13	P.R.R.	Long Island Committee	1900 New York, N. Y.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
14	B & O		1900 New York, N. Y.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
15	P.R.R.	Dist. Council for	1900 New York, N. Y.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
16	P.R.R.	WGBH - White	1900 New York, N. Y.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
17	P.R.R.	WGBH (Harlem)	1900 New York, N. Y.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
18	P.R.R.	WGBH (Harlem)	1900 New York, N. Y.	9:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
19	P.R.R.	Negro Labor Council	1900 N. Y. C.	10:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
20	P.R.R.	Comm. for Dem. Voters & Episcopal Diocese of Newark	1900 N. Y. C.	10:00 AM	8:15 P.M.
21	P.R.R.	Intl Ladies German Workers	1900 N. Y. C.	10:00 AM	8:15 P.M.

Richard Brown RE-1-6550
 Rev. Benoit Hanson Mark-2-4306

Joseph A. [unclear] [unclear]

NOTE: ADDITIONAL REQUESTS TO HANDLE 7200 PERSONS WILL, IN ALL PROBABILITY BE ACCEPTED, IF EQUIPMENT CAN BE OBTAINED.
 TRAINS DO NOT DEPART IN SAME ORDER AS ARRIVAL

Jim. Winne

10 Grad - 738-
Fax 641

CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATION AT WASHINGTON - AUGUST 28, 1963

Trains arriving Washington

No. 177 6.45 am - E.S.T.
Protect No. 177 -
Spl. No. 1 8.00 am
Spl. No. 2 8.10 am
Spl. No. 3 8.20 am
Spl. No. 4 8.30 am
No. 401 8.45 am
No. 548 9.00 am
Spl. No. 5 9.05 am
Spl. No. 6 9.15 am
No. 131 9.20 am
Protect No. 131 -
Spl. No. 7 9.30 am
Spl. No. 8 9.45 am
Spl. No. 9 9.55 am
Spl. No. 10 10.05 am
Spl. No. 11 10.30 am
Spl. No. 12 10.40 am
Spl. No. 13 10.45 am
Spl. No. 14 10.50 am
No. 111 10.55 am*

* Schedule moved back 5" to follow Spl. No. 14.

Southbound
Trains
into
Washington

No. 400 3.30 pm - E.S.T.
No. 154 4.00 pm
Spl. No. 12 4.10 pm
Spl. No. 2 4.20 pm
— No. 414 4.25 pm
Spl. No. 6 4.30 pm
Spl. No. 8 4.40 pm
No. 149- 4.45 p
Spl. No. 3 4.50 pm
— No. 156 5.00 pm
Spl. No. 9 5.05 pm
— No. 192 5.10 pm
Spl. No. 7 5.20 pm
Spl. No. 11 5.30 pm
Spl. No. 10 5.30 pm - B&O
5.40 pm - Orange
5.45 pm - B&O
No. 173- 5.50 p Spl. No. 13 5.50 pm
Spl. No. 5 6.00 pm
6.15 pm - B&O
Spl. No. 4 6.20 pm
— No. 158 6.30 pm
No. 113- 6.45 p 6.45 pm - 6.40 pm - C&O
6.50 pm
Spl. No. 1 6.50 pm
Spl. No. 14 6.55 pm
No. 575 7.00 pm
7.15 pm - RF&P
8.00 pm - RF&P
— No. 160 8.15 pm
9.00 pm - C&O
9.00 pm - RF&P
— No. 176 9.20 pm

